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Sultan-Quli, the First Ruler of Medieval Tilangana

PART I

BY

H. K. SHERWANI, *Hyderabad Dn.*

Golkunda

The kingdom of medieval Tilangāna, with its capital at Golkunda, forms a kind of connecting link between Bahmani and the Aṣaf-jāhi periods, and is remarkable in a number of ways. It was an offshoot of the Bahmani kingdom which extended during the last years of the fifteenth century from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea,[1] and at the time of its greatest strength included the whole of the Tilangāna region of the present Hyderabad State and practically the whole of the present Andhra State, from lake Chilka in the north to the river Pennar in the south. The rulers of Golkunda were great builders and great patrons of learning and some of them linguists and poets of renown. Golkunda and its successor, Hyderabad, which was founded on the Mūsī six miles from the citadel city in 1000/-1592, became the rendezvous of merchants, learned men, soldiers, men of the world and of religion. The dynasty lasted till 1687 when it was finally extinguished with the capture of Golkunda after a siege lasting more than a year, and the kingdom annexed to the Empire of Aurangzib.

Sultān-Qulī's Antecedents

Sulṭān-Quli[2] belonged to the Turkoman tribe of Qarā-Qūvinlū which had black sheep as its emblem. Luckily we have his genea-

1. See map in Sherwani, *Bahmanīs of the Deccan*, 1953, (henceforward *Bahmanis*).

2. Although the name 'Sulṭān-Qulī' might suggest royal dignity, the epithet 'Sulṭān' is only a part of his name, much in the same way as 'Earl' and 'King' are the names of many private individuals in England and America today. Similarly 'Malik' which originally meant *king*, was frequently granted to persons of Turkish or even negro descent, while in South India 'Bādshāh' is quite frequently met with as the name of persons who have no affinity with any royal house. The epithet 'Sulṭān' has led quite a number of historians of note such as Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, London, 1900 (henceforward *Sewell*), pp. 167, 323, etc., Professor Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Venka-

logy in our possession in the handwriting of his great grandson, Muḥammad-Qulī Quṭb Shāh, and this tallies, to a large extent, with the other genealogies we possess.[3] Compared to the genealogies of the Bahmani kings, who took pride in being descended from the semi-mythical Persian hero, Bahman, this genealogy seems sober and real.[4] It is short and pithy and takes the ancestral tree only up to the fifth degree before Sulṭān-Qulī, i.e., up to Qarā Muḥam-

taramanayya, *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History,* Madras, 1946 (henceforward *N. & V.*) I, 174 ff. to regard 'Sulṭān' as a title and an emblem of royalty which it was not. The question whether Sulṭān-Qulī ever assumed the royal title will be discussed later. Prof. K. K. Basu in his paper, *A Chapter from Golconda History,* Proceedings of the Indian History Congress (henceforward *I.H.C.*) Fourth Session, 1940, calls him 'Subḥān Qulī' on p. 263 and 'Qulī Qutbul Mulk' on p. 264, perhaps following Rafi'u'd-dīn Shirāzi's *Tuhfatu'l-Mulūk,* MSS. Asafiyah, Tarikh, 1081 (henceforward, *Tuh.*) fol. 18 b., although it appears that the learned professor had *Tārikh-i Muhammad Qutb Shāh,* MSS. Asafiyah, *Tarikh,* 401 (henceforward *Q.S.*) or its epitomised translation appended at the end of Briggs, *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India,* Cambray, Calcutta, 1910, (henceforward *Briggs*) Vol-III, before him as he gives copious references from it. Of course *Tuḥ.* is entirely wrong in calling him Subhān-Quli, which was really the name of Jamshīd Qulī's son.

3. This genealogy is written on the fly-leaf of the book names *Kanzu'l lughāt,* now in the Salar Jang Library, and is placed in the Salar Jang Museum, Room 18, show case 4, as a rare manuscript. The name of the book is, incidentally, not Kanzu'l-lughāt in plural, as related by the late Hakīm Shamsu'llah Qādiri in his article on *Dakan kī 'ilmī taraqqiyan Salātīn-i Qutb-Shāhiyah kē 'ahd mēn,* Rasala Tarikh, April-June, 1929, p. 104, but *Kanzu'l-lughat* in the singular. The genealogy is in the hand of Muhammad Qutb Shah, the fourth ruler, and is dated 'in the beginning of Muharram, 1045' which corresponds to June-July, 1635. It is as follows:
Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, b. Mirza Muḥammad Amīn, b. (Ibrāhīm) Qutb Shah b. Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-Mulk, b. Pir-Quli, b. Alwand Beg, b. Mirza Sikandār, b. Yūsuf, b. Qar Muḥammad Turkmān.
Feeishta, *Gulshan-ī Ibrahimi,* Lucknow, 1865 (henceforward *Fer.*), ii, 167, simply says that Sulṭān-Qulī belonged to the Turkish tribe of Bahārlū and was of the clan of Mir 'Ali Shākir. For Qara-Qūvinlū tribe see *Encyclopaedia of Islam,* II, 74 and for Aq-Qūvinlū tribe, II, 225. Also see V. Minorsky, *the Qara-Qoyunlu and the Qutb-Shahs,* Bulletin of the School of Oriental & African Studies, London, 1955, pp. 50-73; this is really a translation of the preliminary pages of *Q.S.* left over by *Briggs,* and is rich with critical and informative footnotes. The Qara-Qūvinlūs traced their descent from Bahrām Khan of Bahārlu. The two names are wrongly spelt as Qara-Qūnīlu and Aq-Qūnīlu in Prof. A. M. Siddīqī's *Tārīkh-i Golkunda,* Hyderabad, 1939 (henceforward *Tar. Gol.*), pp. 9 ff.

4. For the ancestory of the Bahmanīs, see *Bahmanis,* pp. 48-50,

mad, the chief of the Qarā Qūvinlū tribe. So far as it goes it corresponds to the genealogy given in the Tarikh-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shah which may be regarded as the official history of the first part of the Qutb Shahi rule, but the latter has added certain names in order to connect the tree with Japheth son of Noah![5]

Qarā Muḥammad held sway over Armenia and Azerbaijān, but his son Qarā Yūsuf, who succeeded him in 1387, was dispossessed of his patrimony by Tīmūr[6] and was forced to fly to Egypt. On Tīmūr's death in 1405, however, Qarā Yūsuf returned home and succeeded in wresting Azarbaijān, Hamādān, Isfahān and Qazwin from the Tīmūrids, making Tabrīz his capital. Qarā Yūsuf died in 823/1420 and was succeeded six months later by his son Amīr Iskandar, while on Iskandar's death in 841/1438 the throne was seized by his uncle Jahān Shāh who managed to annex Fārs, Kirmān and Khurāsān and was able to extend his sway in the part of Asia from Azarbaijān to Hirāt to which he moved his capital. Jahān Shāh was murdered by Ḥasan Bēg the chief of the Aq-Qūvinlū tribe which had the representation of the White Sheep as its emblem, and which was the traditional enemy of the Qarā Qūvinlūs. Ḥasan sought out practically every member of the Qarā Qūvinlū but it was brought to his notice that Pīr-Qulī, son of Alwand and grandson of Iskandar was not a man with a quarrelsome temperament and had absolutely no intention of claiming his patrimony. It was for this reason that Ḥasan Bēg spared Pīr-Qulī and his family.[7]

Pīr-Qulī was married to Khadīja Bēgam who was the grand-daughter of Jahān Shāh, one of the youngest sons of Qarā Yūsuf. They had two sons, Allāh-Qulī and Uwais-Qulī. Uwais-Qulī had married Maryam Khātūn, daughter of Malik Swāleh Hamadāni to whom was born a son, who was named Sulṭān-Qulī. When the boy grew up he was taught the arts of war and peace as was the custom in those days, and, as transpires from his later life he

5. *Q.S.*, 32.

6. *Ibid.*, 6. It may be remarked that Aq-Qūvinlūs were Sunnīs, while the Qara-Qūvinlūs were Shī'ah; see Syed Azhar 'Ali's paper on *Qara-Qūvin-lū Turkmān* in the *Rūedad Idara Ma'araf-i Islāmīyah*, Lahore, 1933, pp. 367-402, where on pp. 393 & 394 there are references to Faẓlu'd-dīn al-Isfahāni and Qāzi Nūru'llah Shustarī's *Majālisu'l-Mu'minīn* for the Shī'ism of the Qara-Qūvinlūs.

7. *Ibid.*, 31.

became a scholar of the Qur'ānic lore, mathematics as well as other branches of knowledge such as astrology and necromancy. His grandfather Pīr-Qulī died when he was just twelve. But the crisis in the family really came with the death of Ḥasan Bēg and the accession of his son Ya'qub to the leadership of the Aq-Qūvinlū on 1-10-882/6-1-1478.[8] Ya'qub proved to be even harder on the Qara Qūvinlū than his father, and he began to put the remnant of the tribe to all kinds of torments. Not at all confident of what was in store for him Uwais-Qulī sent his son Sulṭān-Qulī to India and asked his brother Allāh-Qulī to accompany him. The ostensible reason for this was to trade in horses,[9] but it seems that the uncle

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Period of the arrival of Sulṭān-Quli in India*: The age of Sulṭān-Quli at the time of his murder is variously given as 90 (*Ḥadīqatu'l -'Alam,* Hyderabad 1309 H., henceforward *H.A.*, p. 83), "more than 85" (Khafi Khan, *Muntakhabu'l-lubāb,* Calcutta, 1929, henceforward *Munt.*), and "about 99" (*Q.S.*, 107). Thus there is a difference about 15 years between *H.A.* and *Q,S.*, and it seems that *Munt.* has struck a rough average between the two. There are differences between the dates of his death as recorded by our chroniclers, but the date inscribed on his tombstone, i.e., 2-6-950/2-9-1543 must be taken as correct, and it is corroborated by *Q.S.*, 106. *Briggs,* III, 377, has wrongly computed the Hijri date to correspond to 4-9-1543. Now the crisis in the family of Pīr-Quli occurred after the death of Amir Ḥasan and the accession of Amīr Ya'qūb in 882/1478 (*Q.S.*, 30) which resulted in the self-imposed exile of Allāh-Quli and Sulṭān-Quli. This must have been in the reign of the Bahmani Sultān Muḥammad Shāh Lashkari who died on 5-2-887/26-3-1482, and not in the reign of his successor Shihābu-'td-dīn Maḥmūd, as is averred by *Q.S.*, 34. This is further corroborated indirectly by *Q.S.* itself, for it says that at this time Sulṭān Qulī had reached his youth عنفوان شباب and if we consider 85 to be his age at the time of his death he must have been born about 865/1461 and must have been less than 21 at the time of his coming and settling down in India. Minorsky in his article referred to in note 4 above, reaches more or less the same conclusion but his argument is based on different data. He says: "The first journey of Sulṭān Qulī to India appears to have been motivated by the advent of Aq Qoyunlu Ya'qūb (883/1478) and at that time Sultān Qulī was under age. After the rule of thirteen years Ya'qūb died in 896/1490 (by which time Sulṭān Qulī is said to have reached the age of twenty. Following this chronology he would have been born about 876, at least sixteen years later than according to the anonymous author. Should we assume that his uncle Allah Qulī returned to Persia on receiving a false report of Ya'qūb's death the discrepency might be reduced to some ten years, but in any case Sultān Qulī was born later than previously assumed." With great respect for Prof. Minorsky I feel that the date of Sulṭān Quli's birth, 876 H., is based on a supposition which may, after all, be wrong.

and the nephew also had rich and valuable presents with them which might be utilised to gain favour with the local potentates.

It is related by some of our chroniclers that the party came to India twice,[10] the first journey being to North India. But as they found the north to be in an unsettled condition they went back home. If the version of the story is correct it may have been on the accession of Amīr Yaqūb that they were finally forced out of their land. It is, however, certain that when they did come to the Deccan they found things there better than in almost every other part of India, for, despite the perennial dakhnī-āfāqī squabbles the major part of Muḥammad Shāh Lashkārī's reign was a period of the extension of the Bahmani Empire without and of comparative peace within.[11] Allāh-Qulī and his nephew were well received by the king. The Tarīkh-i Muhammad Quṭb-Shāh has related the episode of the return of Allāh-Qulī home in the words of Sulṭān-Qulī himself, and it would be interesting to relate the story in his own words[12]:

> "After being at the capital for some time my uncle requested His Majesty to allow us to return home. In the meantime the news of Sulṭān Ya'qūb's death reached Bidar. But the Sulṭan would not allow us to return home. When my uncle persisted the Sulṭān permitted him to leave but said that I, Sulṭān-Qulī, should stay on. As my uncle had no time to mention this to me he begged His Majesty to allow him to give his reply on the morrow in order that he should know what I thought of the proposal. When my uncle broached the subject to me I told him that I preferred to serve His Majesty as I felt that it was not possible to face the Aq-Qūvinlū who were the despoilers of my race. Moreover I had reached the

10. Both Muẓaffar Khāfi, *Tazkiratu'l-Mulūk* (henceforward *Taz*), MSS. Asafiyah, Tārikh, 134, fol. 134-b, as well as *Q.S.* say that Sultān-Qulī came to India twice, but *Taz.* says that went to Northern India the first time while *Q.S.* has it that he came to the Deccan on both the occasions. It is not known when *Taz.* was compiled, but it brings down history to the death of Aurangzib. The transcription of the Asafiyah copy was completed on 5-6-1247 H. At least this transcript is not very reliable as Allāh-Qulī is named 'Alī-Qulī and Sulṭān-Qulī is called Muḥammad-Qulī in it.

11. For the general condition of the Bahmani kingdom in the reign of Muhammad Shāh Lashkarī see *Bahmanis,* pp. 298-302.

12. *Q.S.,* 34-35.

age of twenty[13] and felt that I had greater chances of rising here as it was bravery and prowess which were regarded as passports for favours in the Deccan. On hearing this my uncle decided to leave me at Bīdar and himself returned home.[14]

Conditions at Bidar

It would be well here to give a short account of the conditions prevailing in the Bahmani kingdom towards the end of the fifteenth century when Sulṭān-Qulī arrived at the capital Muhammadābād-Bidar. During the greater part of the reign of Muḥammad III, surnamed Lashkarī, the government was virtually in the hands of the dowager Queen Mukhduma-i Jahān Nargis Bēgam and after her in the hands of Khwāja-i Jahān Maḥmūd Gāwān. But with the death of the Queen about 1472 and the murder of the Khwājā ten years later the kingdom began to tread its downward path, and this was further precipitated by the murder of Maḥmūd Gāwān's successor in the office of the Prime Minister, Malik Ḥasan Nizāmu'l-Mulk, in 1486. After the death of Muḥammad III exactly

13. This confirms my surmise regarding the probable date of Sulṭān-Qulī's birth as well as the period of his arrival at Bidar; see n. 9, above.

14. All this goes against the veracity of the episode related by *Fer.*, II, 167, that Sulṭān-Qulī got himself enrolled in the corp of the royal slaves "because Muḥammad favoured Turkish slaves." This as well as many other stories relating to the history of the Deccan have been copied by Niẓāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad in his *Tabaqāt-i Akbar-Shāhi*, Lucknow, 1875 (henceforward *Tab.*) Khāfī Khān seems to be more reliable when he says in *Munt.*, III, 368, that Sulṭān-Qulī "entered the service of the King" on his arrival in the Deccan. *Ma'āthir-i 'Alamgīri*, Calcutta, 1925 (henceforward *M.A.*), 301, calls "Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk" a slave of Sultān Maḥmūd Bahmani, but on the face of it the statement is incongruous as he could not have remained a slave after he had been created a noble of the Bahmani kingdom. *H.A.* p. 11 does no more than give both the versions and leave the decision to the reader. I regret that I do not agree with Prof. Siddiqi when he says (*Taṛ Gol*, 16) that in every matter "the histories written at Golkunda" are necessarily more trustworthy than others; for instance, in the matter of the period of Sulṭān-Qulī's arrival at Bidar *Q.S.* is evidently wrong.

Muhammadābād-Bidar, headquarters of the District of that name, Hyderabad State, 17°55′ N., 77°32′ E.

(Longitudes and latitudes of different towns and villages mentioned have been taken from the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1908, or from the *District Gazetteers of Madras and Bombay*. In case they did not contain the exact geographical position of a place it has been computed from the *Survey of India Maps* of the scale 2 miles to an inch or from the *Survey of India District Maps* of the scale 8 miles to an inch).

one lunar year after Maḥmūd Gāwān's death there was an utter lack of leadership and want of loyalty to the State, and the dakhnī-āfāqi quarrels which had marred the very face of the kingdom were causing the political and even the military structure to disintegrate. There is no doubt that there were men of outstanding ability in the Deccan, but each of them was spending his energy in trying to get control of the monarch, and as all of them could not severally control the centre at the same time they began to carve out autonomous-principalities for themselves leaving the Sulṭān under the tutelage of Malik Qāsim Barīd the Turk who thus became the self-appointed Prime Minister of the kingdom. But the tradition of a centre was too deep-rooted to be shaken off easily, and while Qāsim did not dare to dethrone his ward the governors of far-flung provinces like Yūsuf 'Adil of Bījāpūr. Aḥmad Nizāmu'l-mulk of Ahmadnagar and Faṭhu'llāh 'Imādu'-mulk of Berar never declared their complete independence of the centre till the very end of the monarchy.[15]

Sulṭān-Qulī's Rise to Power

The story of the rise of Sulṭān-Qulī at Muḥammadābad-Bīdar as related by *Tarikhi Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh* seems too naïve to be believed. It is related that once the king went on a hunting expedition accompanied by many nobles and a large entourage. Although there was plenty of game at hand still those who were nearest to the king did not bag as much game as the king would have liked. On the other hand Sulṭān-Qulī was very successful, and the king was mightily pleased with him. When the cavalcade returned to the capital he made a present of one hundred and fifty Arab, Turkish and 'Iraqi horses with golden saddles and reins to Sulṭān-Qulī and further granted him the title of Khawās Khān and the jagir of Kuṛangal for his expenses.[16]

We are aware that Sulṭān-Qulī was known as Khawās Khān Hamadāni some time before he became Quṭbu'l-Mulk; but however

15. For the so-called independence of Governors, see *Bahmanis*, p. 390, and Sherwani, *Independence of Bahmani Governors*, Proceedings, *I.H.C.*, 1945, p. 159. Qāsim Barīd is called a Turk by Syed 'Ali Tabātabā in his *Burhan-i-Ma'āthir*, Hyderabad, 1936 (henceforward *Bur.*), while *Fer.* II, 176 calls him a Circassian.

16. *Q.S.*, 37. *Taz.*, fol. 135-a, says that the title was granted to him on 2-6-892/25-5-1486.

Kuṛangal, headquarter of a taluqa, Mahbūbnagar District; Hyderabad State, 17° 7′ N., 77° 38′ E.

prone to eccentric behaviour the Bahmani Sulṭān might have been it seems improbable that he should have raised the dignity of the āfāqi to such an extent and made such costly presents to him on the basis merely of a day's *shikār*. What is more likely is that this rise in the estimation of Shibābu'ddīn Maḥmūd was gradual and the honours that he received were the cumulative effect of a number of episodes which the chronicle above-mentioned has bracketed together as the result of a single day's adventure.

Ferishtā recounts the story of Sulṭān-Qulī's rise in a different way and with a certain romantic touch about it.[17] He makes him a slave of the Sulṭān, and as such he would be in close touch with the ladies of royal household. He was honest, trustworthy and well-versed in mathematics, and as such his services were in great demand on the part of the ladies who entrusted him with their money matters and accounts. Conditions in the kingdom had deteriorated considerably;[18] not only was it difficult to collect taxes from far-flung provinces but highways were infested with thieves and dacoits and there was neither any security of life or property to the traveller. The centre of these disturbances was Tilingānā, and the king proposed to send a *possé* of three or four thousand troops to put down the recalcitrant elements there. On getting to know the intentions of the king, Sulṭān-Qulī petitioned him "through a lady of the royal household" that His Majesty might be pleased to allow him to lead the expedition. His petition was granted and he was able to rid the country of thieves and marauders to the complete satisfaction of the king. This raised him very high in the estimation of Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd and he was showered with many marks of royal favour.[19]

17. *Fer.* II, 167.

18. *Fer.* does not mention the name of the king in whose reign this deterioration took place, but we presume it was in the reign of Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd.

19. *Fer.*, II, 167, says that it was on this occasion that the King granted him the title of Qutbu'l-mulk. But we are aware (*Bur.* 150) that there was another Quṭbu'l-mulk who was governor of Tilangānā and who was alive till 898/1493 when he was killed in the battle off Jāmkhandī against Bahādur Gīlani. Thus it could only be after this that the title was granted to Sulṭān-Qulī. Prof. Siddiqi first follows *Fer.* (*Tar. Gol.*, 20) and then, without any comment, on the very next page, says that the title was granted after the battle of Jāmkhandi. He does not mention *Bur.* at all.

The first definite date we come across in the life of Sulṭān-Qulī in India is 21-11-892/8-12-1487, when he prominently mentioned as one of those āfāqīs who saved Sulṭān Maḥmūd from the danger which beset him at the hands of the rebellious dakhnīs. The King, who was a man of weak intellect, went out that day on picnic to Bāgh-i Dilkusha without being aware of the great discontent caused among a section of the population by the recent murder of Malik Ḥasan Niẓāmu'l-Mulk in which he was himself said to be implicated. As a matter of fact a conspiracy to put an end to the life of the Sulṭān himself was on foot, and now the conspirators took advantage of his absence to accomplish their object. When he returned from the outing he found that there was hardly any noble present to receive him and pay respect to him at the Palace. He, however, paid no heed to this and engaged himself in drinking bouts attended by such āfāqīs as 'Azīz Khān Turk, Ḥasan 'Alī Khān Sabzwāri and Syed Mirza Mashhadi accompanied by a host of pretty girls.[20] All of a sudden a thousand men led by dakhnī and habashī sardars entered the fort and locked it from inside so that it might be impossible for those outside to enter the palace and protect the royal person.[21] It so happened that that Khawās Khān (Sulṭān-Qulī) was present with a few armed gharībs or āfāqīs near the King. There was a free fight between these gharībs and the dakhnī rebels, and when the King seemed to give way Khawās Khān induced him to persevere and not to lose heart.[22] The royal attendants were done to death by the rebels and the Sultān had to fly to Shāh Burj in the Fort where the battle continued between Khawās Khān's men and the rebels. In the meantime the news of the revolt spread throughout the city and Jahāngīr Khān, Farhād Khān, Qāsim Barīd, Shēr Khān Ardistāni, Kishwar Khān and others arrived with a detachment of soldiers twelve thousand strong, and scaling the battlement near Shāh Burj by means of rope ladders, defeated the rebels in a hand to hand scuffle and forced them to fly to Nagīna Maḥal.[23]

20. *Bur.*, 137-141; *Fer.*, I, 365; *Bahmanis*, 365. Syed Mirza is called Mashhadī by *Fer.*, but Badāunī, *Muntakhabu'tawārīkh*, (henceforward *Munt.*) 22 says that he was a Khurāsāni.

21. *Fer.*, I, 365.

22. *Q.S.*, 37. On 21st Ẓi'l-qa-'da the moon would rise at Bidar at 23·58 hours.

23. *Munt.*, III, 120. The palace on the Shāh Burj still exists and at present houses the district treasury.

The capital itself was the scene of a bloody carnage which lasted through the earlier part of the night, and it was only when the moon rose at midnight that the killing of the dakhnīs and āfāqīs came to an end. When morning came it was found that the King's party, i.e., the āfāqīs or gharībs, had full control of the situation. The Sulṭān was hard on the dakhnīs and ordered that in future the walls and battlements of the Fort should be guarded only by gharībs under the command of Khawās Khān, Jahāngīr Khān and Ḥasan Khwāja-i Jahān, men who had saved the life of the King in such a crisis. This was another feather in the cap of Sulṭān-Qulī Khawās Khān who rose further in the estimation of the King and was showered further titles and honours.[24]

The next episode worth noting in the life of the founder of the State of Tilangānā was his success in the campaign against Bahādur Gīlānī the *thānēdar* of Goa. This 'island', as our chroniclers call it, was part of the Governorate of Bījāpūr and was under the jurisdiction of Niẓāmu'd-dīn Gīlānī when Maḥmūd Gāwān held charge of the province. On Gāwān's murder in 887/1482 Niẓāmu'd-din continued to be the district officer of Goa. When Niẓāmu'd-din died in 286/1491,[25] the intrepid *kotwāl,* perceiving the weakness of the central government of Bīdar and dissensions at the Court, managed to take possession of the whole of Konkan coastline right up to Dābul, occupying Kolhāpūr, Kalhar, Panhālā, Belgam, and other forts in what is now called the Southern Maratha country. He even went further and harassed the land as far as Chaul, sent one of his subordinate officers, Yāqūt Ḥabashī with twenty war boats[26] as far north as Mahāim which belonged

24. *Q.S.* says on p. 39 that the title Quṭbu'l-mulk was granted to Khawās Khān on this occasion. This is, however, evidently wrong for reasons given in note 19 above.

25. *Tab.*, 433. *Goa,* capital of Portuguese India; 15° 30′N., 77° 57′ E.

26. Thus in *Fer.*, I, 368; *Tab.*, 432, has 20 ships. There had been peace between the Deccan and Gujarat since the days of Shihabu'-din Ahmad I; see *Bahmanis,* p. 208.

Kolhāpūr, headquarters of a district, Bombay State; 16° 49′ N., 74° 11′ E.

Kalhar or *Karhad,* headquarter of a taluqa in the Satārā district, Bombay State; 16° 42′ N., 74° 10′ E.

Panhālā, fort on the spin of a chain of hills in the Bombay State; 15° 51′ N., 74° 31′ E.

Chaul, in the 'Alībagh taluqa of the Qulābah district, Bombay State; 18° 34′ N., 73° 54′ E.

to the kingdom of Gujarāt, and sank twenty-five Gujarātī ships with all the merchandise on board.[27]

Hearing this the Sulṭān of Gujarāt, Maḥmūd Bēgadā, sent an expedition under Malik Sārang Khān Qiwāmu'l-mulk to punish Bahādur for having violated Gujarātī territory and for putting the kingdom to so much loss. Malik Sārang Khān, however, could not proceed further than Agāshi and Bassein for beyond these places lay Bahmani territory, and considering the happy relations which had subsisted between the two neighbouring sulṭānates for decades the Sulṭān of Gujarāt was loath to encroach on it. He therefore sent Hāshim Tabrīzī with an autograph letter addressed to the Bahmani monarch in which he complained that Bahādur had caused much depradation on the Gujarāti coast and appealed to Shihābu'd-din Maḥmūd in the name of the old friendship between the two countries to put an end to the rebellion.[28]

Maḥmūd now became suddenly alive to the necessity of suppressing the activities of a rebel like Bahādur and sent word to all the *ṭarafdārs* or governors of different provinces, i.e., Yūsuf 'Adil, 'Imādu'l-mulk and Niẓāmu'l-mulk to send their forces immediately, and himself, accompanied by Sulṭān-Qulī Khawās Khān and a large army, proceeded to Bījāpūr where he was received right royally by Yūsuf 'Adil. The King now sent an ultimatum to Bahādur ordering him to lay down his arms, release the officers captured by him and give up the Gujarāti ships which he had taken into his custody. As no answer was forthcoming he summoned Quṭbu'l-mulk dakhnī, governor of Tilangāna to join forces with Bahādur. In the battle which ensued Quṭbu'l-mulk was killed and the Sulṭān thereupon conferred the vacant title on Khawās Khān who is known in history by his new title Quṭbu'l-mulk. With the new Quṭbu'l-mulk in command the royal

27. *Mahāim,* modern *Māhim,* now a suburb of Bombay, was originally an island with Māhim river in the north, the sea to the west and salt pans to the east and the south; see Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne,* Hakluyt Society, 1953, map opposite p. 90; position, 18° 55′ N., 72° 54′ E.

Agāshī, fort in the Bassein taluqa, Thana district, Bombay State; 19° 28′ N., 72° 47′ E.

Bassein, headquarters of the taluqa of that name, Thana district, Bombay State; 19° 20′ N., 72° 49′ E.

28. The actual letter is reproduced in *Bur.,* 147 and *Q.S.,* 41, with slight variations. Maḥmūd Bēgadā, Sulṭān of Gujarat, 1458-1511.

army gained a series of victories against Bahādur, for the rebels were driven out of Jāmkhandī while Mankhēṛ was taken by the King in person.[29] There seems to have been a hitch at Mubārakābad-Miraj where Pota Nāyak, who was evidently one of Bahādur's partisans, opposed the royal army with 5,000 horses and 100,000 foot soldiers. Quṭbu'l-mulk was here faced by one of the most valiant of the leaders of the opposing forces, namely Pota's son Dēva Nayak. But the day proved to be auspicious, for the Sulṭān's cause, for Deva was struck by Quṭbu'l-mulk and fell dead on the battlefield, followed by a general stampede of his army. When Pota saw that the game was up he sent his envoys to the royal camp in order to beg the Sulṭān's pardon which was granted forthwith.[30] The Sulṭān now entered Miraj in triumph and was so pleased with what Quṭbu'l-mulk had done that he issued orders that he should be raised above all the nobles and maliks of the kingdom.[31]

Quṭbu'l-mulk now made Miraj the centre of his activities and again turned towards Bahādur. He harassed the rebels so much that he was forced to send a message to the king on 20-7-898/7-5-493 that he now desired to lay down his arms.[32] On the receipt of this good news the King was doubly pleased as on that very day

29. *Bur.*, 150. It is mentioned here that Sulṭān-Qulī was granted the title of Quṭbu'l-mulk and the jāgīr of Kōtgīr, Durgī and other places in the neighbourhood were granted to him.

Bījāpūr, headquarters of a district, Bombay State; 16° 49′ N., 75° 43′ E.

Jāmkhandī, headquarters of a District, Bombay State; 16° 30′ N., 75° 72′ E.

Malkhēṛ, on the Kagna river, Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State; 17° 12′ N., 77° 9′ E.

Mīraj, renamed *Mubārakābād*, headquarters of a district, Bombay State; 16° 49′ N., 74° 71′ E.

Kōtgīr, Nizāmābād district, Hyderabad State, 4 miles east of the Mānjira; 17° 35′ N., 73° 10′ E.

30. For details of the Miraj campaign see *Q.S.*, 40 & 41. Death of Deva Nayak, H.A., 22.

31. *Q.S.*, 41. This seems an exaggeration. *Fer.* II, 176 seems more correct when he says that he was raiseed above the jagirdars of Tilangana.

32. Thus in *Fer.*, I, 368. *Tab.* has 25.7.889/1.8.1492. The name of the envoy as given in *Tab.*, 434 is Khwāja Ni 'matu'llāh Tabrīzī, while *Bur.*, 149 calls him Bona, evidently a Hindu chief. After Bahādur's defeat and death Bona is said to have been received in the royal presence and honoured for his bravery. The date is definitely correct as on that date a son, the future Aḥmad IV was born to the King.

a son was born to him, it was perhaps due to this auspicious occasion that the terms offered to Bahādur were very lenient. Bahādur quite wrongly thought that this was due to some weakness on the part of the Sulṭān, and he now revoked all thought of making obeisance to him.

Maḥmūd now marched out of Miraj, captured Kalhar and forced Bahādur's representative at Dābul to pay him the homage that was due. The scene now shifts to Panhālā which had been captured by the royal army and which Bahādur now attempted to recapture. The Sulṭān ordered Quṭbu'l-mulk to prevent Bahādur from reaching the citadel. The rebel met the general with a force "consisting of 2,000 Gīlāni, Māzendrāni and Khurāsāni horses" and 15,000 foot soldiers. It was in this battle fought before Panhālā on 5-2-900/5-11-1494 that Bahādur was killed.[33]

Qutb'l-mulk, Tarafdār of Tilangānā.

It has been mentioned already that Shihābu-d-dīn Maḥmūd's reign saw the disintegration of the State leading to the progressive autonomy of provincial governors, while the Sulṭān himself became a virtual prisoner in his own palace, always guarded by Qasim Barīd. When the Sulṭān returned to Bīdar from his western campaign he was so pleased with Quṭbu'l-mulk's strategy that he granted the title of Amīrul'l-Umarā and passed orders that he should be made the *tarafdār* of Tilangānā and the great fort of Golkunda be added to his already extensive jagirs.[34] Qāsim

33. Date in *Bur.*, 153. *Dābul*, renamed *Mustafābād*, fort in Ratnāgirī District, Bombay State; 17° 35′ N., 73° 10′ E.

34. *Fer.*, II, 176. Prof. Siddiqi says (*Tar. Col.*, 27; article on *The Quṭb Shahs* in the Journal of Dakkan History and Culture, II, No. 2, p. 191, that Gōlkunda is called Mangalwāram in the inscription on Nēknām Khan's grave in the royal cemetry near the Fort. This inscription is reproduced in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (henceforward *E.I.M.*), 1915-16, p. 38 and translated into English on p. 39, as well as in A. A. Bilgrami's *Ma'āthir-i-Dakan*, Hyderabad, pp. 117-18, and I find no reference to the identification of Golkunda with Mangalawāram in either of these. All that transpires from the inscription is that the revenues of "the village of Mangalawāram in the division of Janwal (or Janwarah), properly known as Ḥasanābād, are endowed for the Nēknām Khān's tomb." It is unthinkable that Golkunda should be called Mangalawāram and be regarded as merely a village in 1084/1673, which is the year of the inscription referred to. As a matter of fact Mangalawāram is the name of two villages, *Peddā* (Great) *Mangalawāram* and *Chinnā* (Little) Mangalawāram, the first being 10 miles from Golkunda, posi-

Barīd, on the other hand, had made many enemies at the Court who poisoned the King's ears by telling him how dangerous he was and that what he intended was that he should revolt against the authority of the Sultān and perhaps sit on the throne himself. The King, weak as he was, now sent secret word to Yūsuf 'Adil, Niẓāmu-l-mulk and Qutbu'l-mulk who went and besieged Qasim's jagir town of Ausa.[35] The siege went on for a whole month, and when matters had become acute for Qāsim he begged the royal pardon which was granted, and the provincial governors were now ordered to go back to their charges. It was, however, agreed that they should keep contact with the Sultān by presenting themselves at the capital at least once every year. Maḥmūd was greatly pleased with Quṭbu'l-mulk's response and increased the forces under his command by eight thousand men.[36]

Vijayanagar

On the southern frontier the Bahmanīs were face to face with the kingdom of Vijayanagar. The southern State had then a boy on the throne,[37] but he had a strong minister, Narasa Nāyaka,

tion 17° 20′ N., 78° 16′ E., the latter being 13 miles from the citadel, at 17° 23′ N., 78° 14′ E.

Date of the assumption of the office of the tarafdar of Tilangānā by Quṭbu'l-mulk, 901/1496.

Golkunda fort, six miles from Hyderabad City, 17° 23′ N., 78° 24′ E.

35. Thus in *Bur.*, 158; *Q.S.*, 43 says that they came of their own accord.

Ausa, headquarters of a taluqa, 'Usmanābād district, Hyderabad State; 18° 16′ N., 75° 27′ E.

36. *Q.S.*, 44-45.

37. The name of the ruler is variously given as Immadi Narasimha, (*N. & V.*, I, 150 ff.), Timrāj (*Fer.*, II, 6) and Tamarāo (Nuniz, in *Sewell*, 309). *N. & V.* agree to the identification and even say (I, 154) that he was young at the time of his enthronement; but they also say that *Fer.* considers Timrāj to be the de facto ruler, as it was Narasa Nāyaka who had the real reins of government in his hands. I am afraid I have not been able to verify this statement from *Fer.* They also feel that "it is hazardous to attempt to discredit the evidence of Nuniz by citing Ferishta." (*N. & V.* I, 154 n.) At least in the matter of the name and age of the ruler *Fer.* and Nuniz are in full agreement.

Immadi Narasimha or Timmārāya reigned from 1492 to about 1505, although he was under the tutelage of Narasa Nāyaka up to 1503 and then of his son Vīra Narasimha up to the end of his reign. *N. & V.*, I, 178, say that Immadi Narasimha reigned for "nearly 14 years", but on the very next page his successor is said to begin his reign in 1505, so there is a difference in the calculation at least of one year.

who took advantage of the civil turmoil at the Bahmani court, and responding to the traitorous invitation extended to him by Qāsim Barīd, advanced right into the Rāichūr doāb. The government at Bīdar was so incompetent that it was not at all difficult for the Vijayanagari forces to reduce the two key fortresses of Rāichūr and Mudgal. Yūsuf 'Adil, for whom this was like a stab in the back, first marched on Bīdar, defeated the traitor and then went in full force against the army of the southern kingdom. He fought a pitched battle on a Monday in Rajab, 898/April 1493 and captured both the forts in one stroke.[38]

This unfortunate piece of territory, however, seems to have changed possession several times, coming now under the sway of the Bahmanīs and then passing under Vijayanagar. About 909/1503 there was a kind of lull among the large fief-holders, and the Sulṭan had the courage to demand the so-called arrears of tribute from the southern kingdom and almost simultaneously to lead the army southwards. He moved on to the village of Arki where he was joined on by Quṭbu'l-mulk with ten thousand foot-lancers, three thousand horses and fifty elephants. Yūsuf 'Adil and Fatḥu'llāh 'Imādu'l-mulk also joined in due course with large armies. When all was ready, 'Ainu'l-mulk, who commanded a part of the royal contingent, was ordered to wheel round by way of Kalhar and Kōlhāpūr towards Vijayanagar with five thousand horses, five thousand foot soldiers and eighty elephants. The Sulṭān took over the command of the large army himself and laid seige to Rāichūr which was soon reduced. Hemmed in on all sides and hopeless of the outcome of the contest, the Rāya offered to pay in the tribute to the Sulṭān and relinquished the possession of Rāichūr and Mudgal which were granted to Yūsuf 'Adil by the Sulṭān.[39]

Bahmani arms were no successful in the east. Not very long after Maḥmūd's accession, in 890/1485, Salūva Narasimha, who had usurped the throne of Vijayanagar, ordered his general,

38. *Fer.*, II, 6. The actual date is not mentioned. For reasons best known to *N. & A.* Ferishta's rather pointed testimony is brushed aside in I, 154, and even the fact of the battle is doubted by the learned authors.

Rāichūr, headquarter of a district, Hyderabad State; 16° 12′ N., 77° 25′ E.

Mudgal, fort in the Lingsugūr taluqa of the Rāichūr district, Hyderabad State; 16° 01′ N., 75° 47′ E.

39. *Q.S.*, 45.

Iswara Nāyaka, to march against the Bahmanī camp at Kondukūr where he completely routed the Deccan army and then marched right into Orissan territory without meeting any resistance on the part of the Bahmanīs.[40] But he met a stiff opposition on the part of the Gajapati of Orissa, for we find Purushotam overrunning the whole of the Godavari-Krishna doab right up to Vijayawada in 1488.[41]

Qāsim Barīd's conduct in the campaign against Vijayanagar had been by no means praiseworthy, and he seems to have been degraded and made to retire to Ausa. In his absence the office of the Prime Minister was handed over to Khan-i-Jahān. When, however, Qāsim heard that the Sulṭān had returned from the south he also hurried to Muḥammadābād-Bīdar where he arrived on 9-12-909/24-4-1504, and as he found that those in charge of the Fort would not open its gates for him he challenged the authority of the officers of the royal army and besieged the citadel. Underhand methods had to be employed and the fort was at last entered by promises of money to those who were in charge. The first thing which Qāsim did on his entry was to make short work of Khān-i-ahān whom he got murdered, and then he forced the Sulṭān to reappoint him Prime Minister. The large fief-holders naturally did not like the traitor to be at the helm of affairs again nor did they want the Sulṭān to become powerless. Majlis-i-Rafi' 'Yusuf 'Ādil therefore wrote to Quṭbu'l-mulk to join hands with him to release the Sulṭān from Barīd's clutches. They were joined, as usual, by Fatḥu'llah 'Imādu'l-mulk and Dastūr-Dīnār. The fort had to undergo a siege again as Qāsim had, by then, got full control of the royal forces. It was an irony of fate that the Sulṭān was now brought out of his palace to command his army against the very persons who had come to rescue him from the illegal clutches of his self-appointed Prime Minister. Quṭbu'l-mulk now detached his forces from the main army besieging the fort and attacked Qāsim Barīd singly. It was not long before the tables

40. S. K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History* (henceforward *Sources*), 9, 88, 106, where the Telugu poems, *Varahapurānam* and *Parijātaparanhānamu* are quoted in evidence.

Kondukur, in the Nellore District, Andhra State; 15° 12′ N., 79° 57′ E.

41. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, I, 316.

Vijayawāḍa, large Railway centre on the Eastern Railway, headquarters of the Krishna district, Andhra State; 16° 31′ N., 80° 37′ E.

were turned. Ḥaidar Khān, who was sar-naubat in Qāsim's army, was killed and Qāsim himself was forced to fly. The nobles who had come to the rescue of the King now saw that their work had been accomplished, and in order to remove any misunderstanding which might have been created in his mind by their fighting against the royal army which was commanded by the King in person, they protested their loyalty to him and asked permission to return to their charges. The Sulṭān was again greatly pleased with Quṭbu'l-mulk's strategy and presented him with priceless jewels, costly robes of state and fine horses.[42]

Quṭbu'l-mulk and Yūsuf 'Ādil

Quṭbu'l-mulk had won the estimation of the Sulṭān for his success in every campaign that he had undertaken at his command, and it was well known that there was no one who was more loyal to the person of the King than the governor of Tilangānā. It appears that ever since Jamādi I, 908/November, 1502, when Yūsuf 'Ādil had ordained that the Shī'i form of the call to prayer should be adopted and Shī'ī Khuṭba read in the Jāim' 'Masjid at Bījāpūr on Friday, 6-12-908/2-6-1503,[43] the relations between Sulṭān Maḥmūd and himself were not of the happiest, and this feeling led to a want in the Sulṭān's confidence in Yūsuf, who had evidently taken possession of certain towns without the Sulṭān's permission. Maḥmūd began to think that Yūsuf had become disloyal to the sovereign and wanted to teach him a

42. *Q.S.*, 46; *Bur.*, 158-59; *Munt.*, III, 129. Qāsim Barid's traitorous conduct is mentioned in Ibrāhīm Zubairī's *Basāṭīnu's-Salāṭīn* (henceforward *Basatin*).[17]

43. *Basatin*, 20, says that this occurred on "a Friday in Jamādi I, 908" which corresponds to October-November, 1502. *Fer*, II, 11 does not give any definite date but simply says that the change occurred in 908. *Munt.*, 126, says that the *aẕān* and the *khuṭbah* were modified on "a Friday in Ẕi'l-Ḥijjah, 908." I am personally inclined to agree with *Munt.* and think that the change in all likelihood would have been effected on the first Friday of the auspicious month of Ẕi'l-Ḥijjah five days before the great festival of Baqr'īd which fell on Tuesday, the 10th. of the month, while Friday immediately before that date fell on 2-6-1503. It may be noted here that till then neither Niẓāmu'l-mulk nor Quṭbu'l-mulk had declared their Shī'ism, for while the former declared it to be the true religion in 1537 (*Cambridge History of India*, henceforward *C.H.I.*, III, 440), the latter declared it to be the state religion only after Maḥmūd Shāh's death (*Q.S.*, 52), although his ancestors definitely belonged to that persuasion.

lesson.[44] He therefore sent urgent messages to Quṭbu'l-mulk in 910/1505 to go and punish the ṭarafdār of Bījāpūr. Summons were also sent, as usual, to 'Imādu'l-mulk of Berar, but he did not respond to them. Although a Shi'ah himself Quṭbu'l-mulk immediately proceeded to Bīdar where he was invested with the command of the royal forces and ordered to proceed against Yūsuf.[45] The two armies came face to face at Kōvilkundā to which Yūsuf had evidently advanced. Seeing that it was not possible to face such a strong force with any hope or success, Yūsuf agreed to enter into parleys direct with Quṭbu'l-mulk. A kind of peace conference was thereupon held in which Yūsuf poured out his heart to Quṭbu'l-mulk and told him the reason why he was regarded a suspect at the capital. He said that persons in high authority there were jealous of the afaqis and did not like any one of them to rise.[46] It was therefore most unbecoming that they should fight against each other, and what they should do instead was to join hands to put down thieves and marauders and to work for the progress of the State and good of their sovereign صاحب This statement of policy must have impressed the sagacious Quṭbu'l-mulk and he readily agreed to withdraw. By the treaty entered into Yūsuf evacuated the country round Kōvilkundā but retained the rest of his dominion without any fear of molestation.[47]

44. سر از اطاعت پیچیده *Q.S.*, 47. Taking possession of certain towns by Yūsuf has been inferred from what follows the conference between him and Quṭbu'l-mulk, for which see below.

45. *QS.*, 48. *Tuh.*, 18 b. *Kovilkunda* in Mahbūbnagar district, Hyderabad State; 160° 48′ N., 77°47′ E.

46. It may be noted here that while Qāsim Barīd was himself of Turkish origin he was opposed by all the powerful elements of the State, whether dakhnī or āfāqī. The old demarcation based on race, and perhaps also religion, was rapidly giving place to a tug of war based almost purely on personal ambition, and this proved to be the bane of the Bahmani kingdom towards its close. See *Bahmanis*, pp. 360-61.

47. Details in *Tuh.*, 19b. It is stated there that the kingdom was divided between Nizāmu'l-mulk, 'Adil Khān, 'Imadu'l-mulk and Quṭbu'l-mulk and the title of Qutbu'l-mulk was granted to Sulṭān-Qulī and Majlis-i Rafī to 'Adil Khan after this. This, of course, is not correct. The provinces or *aṭrāf* were already in possession of at least the first three of them even in the time of Muḥammad Shah Laṣhkarī, and, as has been noted above, the title of Quṭbu'l-mulk was granted to Sulṭān-Qulī Khawāṣ Khan as far back as 898/1493 after the death the *tarafdār* of Tilangana, Quṭbu'l-mulk dakhnī in the battle of Panhala against Bahādur Gīlāni on 5-2-900/5-11-1494.

Battle of Deoni and fall of Raichur.

Probably the last effort made by a Bahmani Sulṭān to win back the Rāichūr doāb from Vijayanagar was made in Sha'bān 923/September 1517.[48] In that month Maḥmūd sent messengers

48. *Dēoni,* in the Bidar district Hyderabad State about 36 miles N.W. of Bīdar town, 10° 15′ N., 77° 5′ E. The Dēoni campaign has been variously dated in our authorities. *Briggs,* III, 350 has translated سال دیگر of *Q.S.*, 49 as "on the following year" which it literally means, and as the previous passage clearly stated در اواخر صدوده هجری ('towards the end of 910 .') for a certain fact, Briggs thinks that the battle took place in 911 H. But loosely it may well mean "another year" not particularly "the following year". Now *Bur.*, 163 clearly states that the battle took place in Sha'bān 923/-September 1517, and that it was shortly after an accident at the battle that Mahmūd Shāh Bahmanī met his death. Thus there was an interval of sixteen months between the accident and his death, which occurred on 24-12-924/27-12-1518. *N. & V.*, I, 190-92, discuss the date of the campaign at length, and stress its being "jihād" so much so that they use that epithet eight times in a page and a half! They disbelieve *Burhan's* 923 as they consider it "too late" for "at that time Krishnaraya could not have opposed the combined might of the Bahmani Kingdom. . . since his armies were still involved in the Kalinga war." But they seem to ignore the fact that while the great Rāya had already been on the throne at least for eight years in 1517 he must have increased his power to strike on two fronts during the period, specially as the Bahmani arms were already declining due to personal dissensions of the leaders, and the consequent disintegration was fast setting in. They also call *Q.S.'s* 911 to be "palpably false" and say that the author "dislocates the events from their chronological setting to show that Quli Quṭbu'l-Mulk (*sic.*) ... remained loyal to the Sultan till his death which he refers to 912 H." Another argument levelled against *Q.S.'s* date is the supposed presence of Malik Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-mulk in the battle as he was already dead in 917-1512. But it is nowhere mentioned that *Malik Ahmad* took part in the battle, and all that is mentioned is that "Niẓāmu'l-mulk Baḥrī" was one of the nobles summoned by the Sultān, and he may well have been Burhān, the successor of Malik Aḥmad. There is no doubt that *Q.S.*, makes a mistake in putting down Māḥmūd Shāh's death on 24-12-912 while it actually occurred on 24-12-924 after a reign of 36 years, 10 months and 20 days. 912 may well be the calligraphist's mistake, especially as 37 years' period of his reign mentioned by *Q.S.*, himself roughly tallies with the period between Muḥammad III's death on 5-2-887 and Maḥmūd's death on 24-12-924. *N. & V.*, argues from the Hampi inscription of 28-1-1510 that the battle must have taken place "some time before this date" (I, 191). But there is absolutely no mention of any circumstance connected with the Dēoni campaign in the Hampi inscription referred to, the translation of which is given in *N. & V.*, III, 98, and the reference in the inscription may well be to another campaign.

Under these circumstances I felt that *Burhān's* date (p. 166) viz., Sha'bān, 923/September, 1517 is correct.

to all the governors and fief-holders to send their forces to the capital. Accordingly Niẓāmul'l-mulk, Isma'il 'Ādil (who had succeeded his father Yūsuf in 1510) Dastūr Dīnār and Quṭbu'l-mulk sent their forces, but it is said that the number of soldiers sent by Quṭbu'l-mulk exceeded all previous records, and this shows how much he desired that the Bahmani State should remain strong and not fall a prey to disintegrating tendencies. It is related in *Krishna-Rāya-Vijayam* by Kumar Dhurajti that this army consisted of on lakh Bundelas, one lakh Pendars, one lakh Muslims and a thousand elephants. This large army marched towards Vijayanagar, ostensibly to wrest the arrears of the so-called tribute from the Southern Kingdom. But the Bahmani forces were stopped at Deōni by Krishna Dēva Rāya's army and were hemmed in on two sides by a far superior force consisting of six lakhs footsoldiers, six thousand and six hundred horses and two thousand elephants.[49] A hand to hand struggle ensued in which the Bahmani Sulṭān himself took part. He was thrown down from his steed and being severely wounded, had to be carried away in a palanquin to the tent of Mirza Luṭfu'llāh, the son of Shāh Muḥibbu'llāh, who was closely related to the royal House. This was the signal for the Bahmani army to retreat homewards. Unfortunately the severe wounds sustained by the Sulṭān grew worse and worse and he finally succumbed to them on 24-12-924/ 27-12-1518.[50]

49. *Q.S.*, 49, makes another mistake that Qāsim Barīd continued to be Prime Minister at Bīdar even after the battle of Dēoni. This, of course, is wrong, as he died in 910-1505 and was succeeded by his son Amīr Barīd who was the virtual ruler at Bīdar up to 1542. See *Briggs*, III, 496. For the number of opposing forces, see *Sources*, 131.

50. See note 48, above. *Bur.*, 166, while giving the date of his death, says that he was barely 47 years and 2 months at the time and had reigned for 37 years and 2 months; *Fer.*, I, 8, 374 says that the Sultān died after reigning for 37 years and 20 days, while *Q.S.*, 49 says that he died at the age of 47 after reigning for 37 years. Now his father Muḥammad III died definitely on 5-2-887, and counting from there to 24-12-924, the date of Maḥmūd's death, it makes the reign last 36 years, 10 months and 20 days. *Fer.*, I, 350, says that Mahmūd was born in 875/1471, so the calculation of 47 years is perfectly correct. *Sewell*, 106, is obviously wrong in putting down 18-12-1517 as the date of the Sultān's death as it occurred on 24-12-923/27-12-1518.

There is a curious statement in *Padya Bālabhagavatam*, Mac. MSS., 14-1-34, entitled *Rāmaraju Timmā*, in which Timmā is said to have "granted the Mussulman (chief or king) Muhammad, his life, scattered the army of the Gajapati, to whom he put to flight". Arguing from this rather cryptic statement, contained in *N. & V.*, 94, the learned compilers of *Further Sources* argue that

The Declaration of Independence

We must try here to unravel a problem which has withstood solution so far, and it is the question whether Quṭbu'l-mulk declared his independence after Maḥmūd Shāh's death. Ferishta's assertion that he declared independence in 918/1512 has been conclusively proved to be incorrect by the decipherment of the inscription over the *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' Masjid outside the Fatḥ Darwaza of the Golkunda Fort. This inscription records that the mosque was constructed "during the reign of Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Muḥammad Shāh al-Bahmani".[51] This has led certain eminent historians merely to advance the date of Quṭbu'l-mulk's "declaration" of independence from 1512 to 1518, the year of Maḥmūd Shāh's death.[52] But it is rather significant that there is no description of the formal assumption of the royal title in any of our chronicles, besides mere passing references such as that by Ferishtā, and even the Tarīkh Muḥammad Qutb Shah has only a bald statement that Sulṭān-Qulī also enthroned himself. On the other hand the same work is quite explicit that

> "he was content with what the His late Majesty (may his abode be in Paradise) had granted to him, and contrary to what other rulers (*'salātīn'*) of the Deccan, he continued to prove by his deeds that he was ever faithful and never cast his eyes towards the lands owned directly by the Bahmani Sultan."[53]

Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd was "rescued from the jaws of death, perhaps, by Rāmaraja Timmā, one of Krsnarāya's officers", although this is not vouchsafed by any other authority.

51. *Fer.*, I, 168; *Briggs*, III, 323. This has led many eminent historians such as the late Sir Wolseley Haig to date the so-called "declaration" in 1512; *C.H.I.*, III, 430; *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan*, 3. The question was tackled for the first time by Dr. G. Yazdani in his well-reasoned out article entitled *The Date of Sultan Quli Qutbul Mulk's assuming the Title of the King*, in the Journal of the Hyderabad Archaeological Society, 1918, p. 89. At the end of the article the author says that "it cannot possibly be inferred that Sultan Quli declared his independence earlier than 924." But he stops here and assumes that the independence *was* declared in 824 H. For the complete inscription see *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica* (henceforward *E.I.M.*), 1913-14, p. 48.

52. Thus Siddiqi, *Tar. Gol.*, p. 25. Prof. Siddiqi seems to have some doubt in his mind, for he says that this year 924/1518, "*may* be regarded as the year of the declaration."

53. *Q.S.*, 49, 51.

Briggs, who has translated extracts from the *Tārīkh-i Muḥam-Quṭb Shāh*, gives a short description of how Niẓāmu'l-mulk, Ismā'il 'Adil and 'Imādu'l-mulk definitely declared their independence and proclaimed themselves kings. But when he comes to Quṭbu'l-mulk he simply mentions on the authority of "the History of Mahomed Kooli Kootb Shah" that

> "Sooltan Kooli Kootb-ool-Mulk, who still continued his allegience to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of the province of Tulingana, making Golconda his seat of government.[54]

> This, of course, goes counter to Ferishta's assertion that he followed other governors by proclaiming his kingship "although his territories were not very large." But Ferishta himself is explicit that quite different to "other Sultans . . . . he continued to send rich presents in money as well as in kind" to the *rois fainéants* at Bidar.[55]

The question of the so-called independence of the governors of the Bahmani kingdom has been discussed elsewhere,[56] and it has been conclusively proved that even the chief of them, the ruler of Bījāpūr, did not proclaim his kingship till 945-1593.[57] There is,

54. *Briggs*, III, 337.

55. *Fer.*, III, 168. Munshi Qādir Khān, *Tārīkh-i Qādirī*, Asafiyah, 409 Tārīkh (henceforward *Qadiri*) says that it was Sulṭān Qulī who constructed Muḥammad Shah's tomb at Bīdar and sent masons for that purpose from Golkunda as "Malik Barīd would not let the tomb be completed". The amount sent annually to the Sulṭān at Bīdar by Qutbu'l-mulk was 5,000 hons. *Munt.*, III, 370, is explicit that, different to Aḥmad Niẓāmu'l-mulk and other fiefholders Sulṭān-Quli was careful enough to avoid any ignominy attending such a declaration.

56. *Bahmanis*, 390-94, 419; I much regret that on p. 392, 925/1519 has been misprinted as 921/1577 which is, of course, wrong. See also my article on the *Independence of Bahmani Governors*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Annamalainagar Session, 1945, p. 159.

57. The adoption of the royal dignity by Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh after 1537 was discussed for the first time by Dr. Nāẓim in his monograph on *Bījāpūr Inscriptions*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 49, p. 6, also footnote 1. This was pointed out by Mr. Khwāja Muḥammad Aḥmad, then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, in his letter to me dated 16-10-1943. Dr. Nāẓim thinks "that the year 1537 was the year of Ilhāmu'llah's disappearence", while as a matter of fact there is no evidence to prove that the last Bahmanī king, Kalimu'llah died before that date. See *Bahmanis*, 410-19. On p. 26 of *Bijapur Inscriptions*, inscription No. 3251 of 943-1537 calls the ruler

however, no doubt that the governors of different provinces took full advantage of the weakness of the central administration at Muḥammadābād-Bīdar and became autonomous within their respective charges. Quṭbu'l-mulk was, of course, no exception to this and he did very much as he liked in his *ṭaraf* of Tiangānā. What is strange in his case is that from the evidence we possess we must come to the conclusion that although he survived the last Bahmani sulṭān by at least five years he never formally declared his kingship or assume the royal dignity, and he died not as a king but merely as the seniormost nobleman of the Deccan.

simply "Ibrāhīm 'Adil Khān" while on the same page inscription No. 410 of 945-1539 he is definitely called "Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh". We must, however, remember that there is no direct evidence that Quṭbu'l-mulk assumed the royal dignity even after this, nor are we aware of his legal status from the time of the final disappearence of the Bahmani dynasty to the date of his own murder seven years later. As regards this second point it would suffice to remind the readers that in the Middle Ages both Asia and Europe were studded with principalities which acknowledged no superiors and still their rulers never proclaimed themselves kings. In more modern times, even after the dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire by Napoleon we find quite a number of duchies and grand-duchies which were entirely independent of any central authority. Nearer home we find that the Fārūqī rulers of Khāndēsh never assumed the royal title although they were independent for all intents and purposes. I maintain that, in the same way, Quṭbu'l-mulk never proclaimed his kingship, and in all probability the first ruler of Golkunda to do so was Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh.

58. *E.M.I.*, 1915-16, p. 27; there are epitaphs only on three other Quṭb shāhī rulers' graves, viz., Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, Muḥammad Quli Quṭb Shāh and Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, and they are reproduced on pp. 28, 31 and 32. In the English rendering of Sulṭān-Quli's epitaph Dr. Yazdani has translated *malik* as "monarch" and *baṛē malik* as "the great Prince", (which is by itself incongruous); but this translation does not correspond to the connotation of the word *malik* in Indian history in general and Deccan history in Particular. It does not mean a king or sovereign at all but merely denotes a nobleman, such as Malik Kāfūr, Malik Maqbūt, Malik 'Ambar, Malik Aḥmad and many others who were by no means kings. In fact the terms hardly ever means a reigning sovereign at all in the Indian context. *Q.S.*, uses this title for practically every nobleman of the Bahmani kingdom including Quṭbu'l-mulk even before his alleged "declaration of independence" on the death of Maḥmūd Shāh Bahmani. *Baṛē Malik* would therefore only mean the Senior Nobleman. With these modifications the effective portion of the epitaph on Sulṭān-Quli's grave in this context would be rendered thus:

> "The occupant of this chosen shrine, and he is the blessed *malik* the felicitous, the martyr, the warrior in the path of God, Malik Sulṭān-Qulī, known as the Senior Malik . . . . ."

Perhaps the most authentic evidence that Quṭbu'l-mulk never assumed the royal title will be found in the epitaph of his tomb.

استقر صاحب هذه الروضة الرضية وهو الملك المغفور السعيد الشهيد الغازی

رحمه الله المجاهد فی سبیل الله سلطان قلی المخاطب بقطب الملک المشهور به بڑے ملک

It would be noticed that the epithet used for the deceased ruler is not Quṭb Shāh (which is invariably used in the case of every other member of the dynasty whose tombstone bears any epitaph), but merely Quṭbu'l-mulk, and as if to signal him out for his great age and position in the Bahmani kingdom, to which he always remained loyal, he is designated *Baṛe Malik* or the senior nobleman.

This evidence, which is official and contemporary, should be conclusive. But there are other important bits of evidence to corroborate this further. We are fortunate in possessing a copy of a book named *Kanzu'l-lug͟hat* which originally belonged to the Royal Library at Golkunda, in the collection of the late Nawab Sālār Jang.[59] It contains on its fly leaf the genealogy of the Quṭb Shāhi monarchs in the hand of the sixth ruler, Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh himself. It reads as follows:

> "Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh, s/o Mirza Muḥammad Amīn, s/o Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh, s/o Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭb'l-mulk, s/o Uwais-Qulī, s/o Pīr Qulī, s/o Alwand Bēg, s/o Mirza Sikandar, s/o Qar(a) Yūsuf, s/o Qar(a) Muḥammad Turkmān."

The most noticeable thing about this genealogy is that while Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm are designated *Quṭb Shāhs*, Sulṭān-Qulī has not got that title appended to his name. If he had ever proclaimed himself king there is not the least doubt that he would have been so designated by his own great-grandson who was so careful about the royal title of his grandfather.

This is not all. We have further material proving our thesis in the *Tarik͟h-i Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh*, which is virtually the official history of the first six rulers of the dynasty, that Sulṭān-Qulī never assumed kingship. The table of contents of the work, which was, as was the custom in those days, as much a part of the book as the contents themselves, is absolutely definite that, different to

59. See n. 3 above.

the later rulers who are entitled as kings, not only Sulṭān-Qulī but Jamshīd- Qulī and Subḥān-Qulī, who succeeded him, never assumed the royal title. The table is as follows:

Chapter 1: Account of the fortunate and successful *amīrzādah*, Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk;

Chapter 2: Account of Jamshīd Quṭbu'l-mulk and his son who is known as Subḥān-Qulī;

Chapter 3: Account of the life of the high and the mighty, of the Equipage of Farīdūn, the Magnificence of Solomon, with his Seat on the throne of Jem, the Refuge of the people, supported by God the Almighty, the Father of the Victorious, Ibrāhīm Quṭb Shāh;

Chapter 4: Account of the life of one with position of Solomon, the *Khāqan* of the Age, with Sun as the Shield of his greatness and high dignity, King of kings, with Stars as his soldiers, having the support of God, Father of the Victorious, Sulṭān Muḥammad-Qulī Qutb Shāh.

Epilogue: Account of some of the occurrences of the reign of the Khāqān of the World, King of kings, with finality in his verdicts, the Priceless Gem in the collection of Royalty, Sun in the Firmament of the Realm, King, Refuge of the people, Father of the Victorious and of the Successful, Sulṭān Muḥammad Quṭb Shāh.[60]

60. QS., p. 1. The epithet used for Sultān-Quli is simply

شاهزادهٔ کامگار امیرزاده

Here it may also be noted that the work invariably calls him ملک کامگار or "the successful *malik*." It is interesting to note that Mirza Nizāmu'd-dīn Aḥmad Sa'īdī's *Ḥadīqatu's-Salāṭīn* (henceforward *H.S.*), Hyderabad edition, the official and rather pompous chronicle of the first part of the reign of Sulṭān 'Abdulah Quṭb Shah (who reigned from 1626 to 1672) which was completed in 1054-1644, also calls the first ruler "*Malik Sulṭān-Qulī Quṭbu'l-mulk*" although he is careful to preface this by the courtesy title of *pādshāh* on p. 67. We may well compare this state of affairs with the use of the epithet *Khusraw-i Dakan* and even 'His Majesty' as the titles of the Nizām of Hyderabad during the period of the old régime although His Exalted Highness never proclaimed his kingship. It may also be mentioned that the first time a Ṣafavi monarch of Persia ever addressed the ruler of Golkunda as *shāh* was in the reign of Muḥammad-Quli Quṭb Shāh (*H.A.*, 245), and it is well-known that the Ṣafavi were ever ready to dub royalty on the Shi'ah rulers of the Deccan whenever opportunity arose. Sir Wolseley Haig has sum up the whole position in a few pithy words in his short article on the Qutb-Shahiṣ in the *Encyclopedia of Islam,* II, 1168, where he says:

It will be noticed that the contrast between the description of the founder of the dynasty on the one hand and the titles and panegyrics of the fourth and the fifth ruler is great indeed. It is absolutely clear that the writer, who himself lived in the reign of Sulṭān-Qulī's grandson, considers his progenitor as merely "the son of an *amir*" and calls the second ruler "Jamshīd Qutbu'l-mulk", while the boy ruler, Subḥān, is merely mentioned. There was no doubt an antagonism between Ibrāhīm and Jamshīd, but that is no reason why Sulṭān-Qulī should have been dragged down from his pedestal if he had ever proclaimed his royal dignity and title.

Extent of the Province of Tilangānā in 901/1496

As has been related above the Bahmani kingdom had reached its lowest ebb during the reign of Shihābu'd-dīn Maḥmūd, and not only had the *ṭarafdārs* and large fief-holders practically freed themselves from the control of the Centre, but practically the whole of the Bay littoral had been overrun in turns by the armies of Orissa and Vijayanagar. The result was that when Sulṭān-Qulī was appointed *ṭarafdār* of Tilangānā in 901/1496 he could control merely the territory lying between the the great fortress of Golkunda and the old Kākatiya capital, Warangal, while the territory between Warangal and the sea came to be occupied by local chieftains, Reddis or Nayaks, who owed loyalty mostly to the Gajapatī of Orissa. They had time to repair old forts or built new ones on hillocks which studded the gentle slope westwards. From the geographical point of view the Golkunda hill, which rises nearly four hundred feet from almost level ground, is the easternmost important hill in the great Deccan plateau which extends from the Western Ghats eastwards, and thus commands the whole country right up to small eminences in the Godāvari-Krishna doāb such as Dēvarkunda, Kondāpalli, Kondāvidu and other places.[61] Had it not been for the

"He (Sultan-Quli) maintained a semblence of loyalty to Bidar until 1512 when he declared himself independent (*sic.*) at Golkunda, but he never assumed the royal title though the historians usually style him Sultan Kuli Kutb Shah."

61. *Warangal,* renamed *Sultānpūr,* headquarter of a district in the Hyderabad State; 17°58′N., 79°38′E.

Dēvarkunda, headquarter of a taluqa, Nalgunda district, Hyderabad State; 16°42′N., 78°55′E.

Kondapalli, the place where Mahmūd Gāwān was murdered and formerly one of the five Northern Circars, now a small town in the Krishna district, Andhra State; 16° 75′ N., 80° 33′ E.

extremely unsettled condition at the Bahmani capital and the utter lack of patriotism on the part of the ministers after Maḥmūd Gāwān it would not have been very difficult to maintain Bahmani hegemony in these parts. But it was otherwise, and the pressure of Orissa from the northeast and Vijayanagar from the south had proved too much for the decadent government at Bīdar. Within six years of the death of Muhammad III Purushotam of Orissa had overrun the whole of the Gōdavari-Krishna doab right up to Vijayanagar territory and had driven the Bahmani forces as far south as Kondavidu.[62] As a matter of fact even Warangal, the old Kakatiya capital, had been lost on January 21, 1504, to a local chief, the intrepid Hindu who is known in history as Shitāb Khān.[63]

Kondavīdu, renamed *Murtaẓānagar,* hill fort in the Guntūr district, Andhra State; 60°60′N., 80°60′E.

It is interesting to note that the book *Tarikh-i Dakan, Ḥālat-i Quṭbīyah,* MSS., Aṣafiyah, Tārikh, 1178, a small book by an anonymous author (mentioned by Prof. Storey in his *Persian Literature: a Bio-bibliographical Survey,* p. 748) says that 'Tilangānā' has Chanda and the Orissan border as far as Sikakol in the north Karnatak in the south, the sea in the east and the provinces of Muḥammadābād-Bīdar and Bījāpūr in the west. The manuscript in the Asafiyah Library seems to be about two hundred years old.

62. Banerji, *History of Orissa* (henceforward *Banerji*), I, 315-16. Purushotam's date of accession to the throne of Orissa is disputed; see *Bahmanis,* ch. 11, note 46, where it maintained that he ascended the throne in 1470.

63. Shitāb Khān, alias Chittāpa Khan, alias Sitāpati, alias Sitādu, is one of the problem personalities of the history of the Deccan. There is quite a good amount of modern literature on the subject, e.g., Dr. Hirananda Sastri's compendious monograph, *Shitab Khan of Warangal,* where he has given the history of the name and edited an important inscription in a temple within the fort of Warangal, which commemorates Shitāb Khan's capture of the town on the 21st. January, 1504. There are references to the person or persons bearing that name in *Bur.* 95, *Briggs,* III, 421, R.H.A.D., 1925-26 and 1935-36 etc. There was a Shitāb Khān who had to leave the Bahmani kingdom during the reign of Humāyūn Shāh Bahmani, there was one of who we are speaking now, and one in the time of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh. These three persons, or at least Shitāb Khān of Humāyūn's reign and the one of Ibrāhīm's reign could hardly be one and the same person as some highly eminent historians have supposed, for there is interval of more than a century and a quarter between the two reigns, and even when we hear of Shitāb Khān of Ibrāhīm's reign he evidently continues to live on and simply disappears from a battlefield. It is not many years ago that he was regarded as a Muslim, but it is now agreed on all hands that he was a Hindu and a 'restorer of temples". See Sherwani, *Identity of Shitāb Khān of Warangal,* Journal of Medieval Indian History, Aligarh, 1955.

(To be continued)

Development and Decline of Indian Epigraphy

BY

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Indian Epigraphy developed with the development of Indian religious thought and ritualism, Indian Architecture and Iconography, Indian political thought and feudalism, and Indian social ideas and institutions. All these factors had a peculiar influence on the Indian society from the ancient times and sometimes individually but often collectively they were instrumental in causing inscriptions to be set up. India is a land of eternal thought. The extra-ordinarily long and chequered religious history of India shows that Indian mind is ever restive. It is always in search of truth. This fundamental trait of the Indian mind is visible in every inscription set up in this country. The Sumerians, who were responsible for the earliest epigraphical records in the world, used writing in the first stages of their civilization for practical purposes and so their earliest inscriptions are business records (*A Sumerian Grammar,* By Langdon P. 1). Although the object of the earliest Indian inscriptions on the Indus Valley seals is not definitely known it is very likely that it was religious. It is well known that the earliest decipherable records of India, which are practically the edicts of Aśoka, are of a purely religious or ethical nature. In fact the edicts of Aśoka are the best example to show how the development of Indian Epigraphy was due to the development of Indian religious thought. Aśoka himself thought that the best way of making religious ideas known to the people in general and for all ages to come was to get them inscribed on stone. All the subsequent inscriptions which are generally of a religious nature are inscribed on stone or some such hard object as metal or hardened object as clay. Because Aśoka was a very great emperor, he could himself cause his religious inscriptions to be set up through out his vast empire. Thus Aśoka, who was in fact the father of Indian epigraphy, showed that it is some kind of religious thought which actuated an Indian to set up an inscription.

Besides the inscriptions of a general nature common to people of all countries there are certain inscriptions peculiar to Indians

only. Most of them are due to their peculiar religious ideas. Certain inscriptions again are peculiar to certain communities of the Hindus and are not common to all of them. The custom of burying the dead gives good opportunities of setting up inscriptions as can be seen from the large number of sepulchral inscriptions of some ancient peoples and of the Christians and Muslims of a later period. Although this custom is not present among the Buddhists who burn their dead like the Hindus they had the peculiar custom of raising *stūpas* over the corporal remains of the Buddha or the Buddhist Saints. The boxes made of stone, metal or clay containing the remains which were buried deep under the *stūpas* contained inscriptions recording the name of the Buddha or Buddhist saint and that of the person or persons responsible for building the *stūpas*. In the early days of their history the Jains also seem to have built such *stūpas* though not necessarily over the remains of their religious founders, as seen from the remains of a Jain stūpa at Mathurā. Another kind of inscriptions known to the Buddhist were those incised on household pots and other objects donated in the name of the Buddha or the Buddhist saint inside the *stūpa*. A third kind of inscriptions also connected with the votive offerings were incised on clay tablets or seals with the Buddhist creed formula or a mystic *mantra* called Dhāraṇi. These three kinds of votive inscriptions of the Buddhists were buried inside the *stūpa*. There are many Buddhist inscriptions incised on the outside parts of the *stūpa*. The Buddhists believe in the efficacy of any act of devotion to the Buddha and his follower as bringing religious merit to the donor and to those related to the donor nay even to all sentient beings and consequently every Buddhist, rich or poor, layman or the initiated, contributed his mite to the building and decorating of the sacred edifice. Whenever a person made his contribution he naturally wished to get it recorded possibly on the very object donated by him. Inscriptions recording the names of such devotees are innumerable, though not more than those connected with the obituary notices on tombs of the Christians and Muslims. One more kind of Buddhist inscriptions incised on outside parts of the *stūpa* are those connected with the *Jātaka* or *avadāna* stories. Buddhism enjoined monastic life to an aspirant of *nirvāṇ* and consequently monasteries and rock caves began to be built, which gave good occasion for setting up inscriptions. It would be seen that most of the early Buddhist inscriptions were due to this religious urge of making donations. With the development of Bud-

dhist Iconography it was thought meritorious to set up an image of Buddha, Bodhisatva or a Buddhist deity.

There is a class of inscriptions peculiar to the Jains only. They are connected with the *Sallekhanā,* or religious suicide i.e., fast upto death, of a Jain Sādhu or Sādhvī. Such inscriptions are generally found in South India, specially in Karnatak.

Inscriptions peculiar to the Brahmanical Hindus are incised on *sati* stones and record the immolation of a *sati* on the funeral pyre of her dead husband.

Certain inscriptions of a religious nature which were common at one time were out of use at another time due to the development or change in religious thought. Inscriptions connected with the Yaksha worship which are found of the early times and which were probably common to the Brahmanical Hindus, Jains and Buddhists are not found afterwards. The well known Morā (Mathurā) well inscription of the Mahākshatrapa Rajuvala Swami of the first century B.C., tells of the worship of the Pañchavīras (Agarval, Mathura Mus. Cat. p. 132) but no later inscription is found which speaks of that kind of Vaishṇava worship. Similarly Brahmanical inscriptions on stone Yūpa pillars and connected with the Vedic sacrifices which are found of the early period in a particular locality are not found elsewhere, and afterwards. The practice seems to have been discontinued although the Vedic sacrifices continued to be regularly performed even afterwards.

Inscriptions connected with the *stūpa* worship so popular with the Buddhists in the early period are less found in the late period. Similarly Jain inscriptions connected with similar Jain stūpas in the early centuries of the Christian era altogether disappear afterwards.

On the contrary certain kinds of inscriptions which were not known in early times are found in later times as the religious ideas of the people developed or changed. It is no wonder that inscriptions relating to the various sects and sub-sects or to the forms of the same sect like the Paśupata cult which were developed in later times in all the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain Communities in India and in places outside India where Indian religion and culture had spread were not known in earlier times. It is worth noting that such a great variety of religious epigraphic records due to

the development in the religious ideas of the people are not found in the epigraphies of other countries and people e.g., of the Christians and Muslims.

Wonderful works of Architecture, overground and underground, mainly religious, in the form of structural sanctuaries like the *stūpas,* monasteries and temples as at Sānchi, Abu, and Tirupati and of rock-cut sanctuaries as at Karla, Udayagiri and Māmallapuram were responsible for a number of epigraphical records giving information about the authors who were responsible for their construction, about the Bhikshus, Bhikshuṇis, Sādhus and Pandits who lived in them, about the gods and goddesses who were enshrined in them and about the ways and details of worshipping them. Besides giving space to the masons for incising the inscriptions some of the Architectural works gave inspiration to the poets for comparing *praśastis.* Comparison of magnificent temples with abodes of Indra, Śiva and Vishṇu is frequent. One poet describes a tall memorial pillar as writing the fame of the king in heaven while another describes a rock-cut temple as a wonderful piece of construction requiring no brick, timber, iron etc. If the monuments were responsible for the inscriptions, the inscriptions were responsible for the importance of the monuments. Aśoka's monolith pillars, for instance, which will always remain wonderful specimens of architecture have given us equally wonderful ethical records. The great irrigation work at Girnar gives us inscriptions describing the engineering skill at the construction of the Sudarśana lake as well as an account of the royal dynasties who built and rebuilt it during the period of eight centuries. The casting of the Mehrauli Iron Pillar is as mysterious to the Metallurgists as the name of the king in whose honour it was raised is to the historians. For more than three centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era Buddhist architecture, extraordinarily superb, elaborate and magnificent, prevailed throughout India and even beyond the mountains and the seas and the innumerable short but noble inscriptions given by it show what wonderful effect Buddhism had in humanising people in different places and walks of life. A very large number of dedicatory and commemorative inscriptions are associated with the sacred edifices of beautiful architecture. This is best evidenced by the fact that the great structural activities of the Buddhists in this period have given us the largest number of inscriptions. Although Jain architecture of this period is sometimes found as at Udaygiri and Mathura the Brahmanical archi-

tecture is almost absent the only places where it is preserved being Nagari and Besnagar. From the fourth to the ninth century A.D., architecture of all the three faiths flourished sometimes side by side in the same places, but the number of inscriptions representing the three faiths is comparatively very small though they now began to be more lengthy and of political as well as poetical importance. From the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., an important epoch of temple architecture mainly Brahmanical and Jain took place throughout India specially in South India and we see wonderful and sustained architectural and epigraphic activities of the people in India as well as in Further India. Each of the religious communities with their sects and sub-sects, each of the geographical regions—Orissa and Gujarat, Malwa and Bundelkhand, Deccan and South India, Java and Cambodia, and each of the royal dynasties were as if vying with one another in the manifestation of the artistic and literary qualities the former by erecting beautiful and majestic temples and setting up various beautiful images in them and the latter by composing learned treatises and glosses on older poems and *praśastis.* The numerous architectural and epigraphical remains of this period all over India and in Further India specially over South India testify as well to the great skill of the architect and the genius of the poet as to the peaceful and cultured life of the people. Just as the rich and superb plastic art is seen in certain temples the high literary qualities of Sanskrit and Dravidian poets are seen in certain *praśastis* and literary pieces. The invocatory verses, some at the beginning of *praśastis,* are as pleasing to the mind as the artistic *toranas* raised in front of the temples are to the eye.

Indian Iconography which always depends upon Indian Architecture ever since it received its first impulse probably at Mathura immediately before the beginning of the Christian era began to develop with the development of religious thought and ritualism among Indians of all classes and creeds. The Indo-Greek foreigners coming from beyond the mountains with already highly developed iconographic traditions probably borrowed from the most remote Indians of the Indus Valley period introduced new elements in the Indian Iconography when they were converted to the Hindu Society. The Brahmanical Hindus and the Buddhists going beyond the seas also did the same. In course of time all the three pantheons, Brahmanical Buddhists and Jain, specially the first, were so much developed that every shrine in every locality in India and outside where Indian

culture and religion had spread had its own image or images. It is well known that India is full of sacred places of all the sects and the sacred places are always crowded with temples and the temples with Gods and the latter generally bear inscriptions on their pedestals. The peculiar religious ideas of the Buddhists and the Jainas of setting up rows of statues of their founders in every place of their worship were further responsible for the innumerable images of their faiths. Though inscriptions were not invariably incised on their pedestals the total number of the image inscriptions of all the faiths rose to millions.

Almost all the Indian icons are no doubt of a religious nature but there are a few historical icons of rulers, saints and great men and even of animals which have given us inscriptions. Some of the inscriptions consisting of explanatory labels to the historical sculptures decorating the walls of some South Indian temples are very important, (Mem. A.S.I., No. 63).

Various institutions connected with the religious establishments like the *stūpas*, monasteries and temples where elaborate forms of worship were developed in course of time are responsible for many inscriptions recording endowments of various kinds e.g., provision of materials for the worship of the God, of oil or ghee for the temple lamp, of religious and ethical reciters singers and dancers before the god, of feeding monks, sadhus, brahmins and poor men, of providing shelter to them and possibly clothing, medicines, comforts, and books of study and of the repairs and rebuilding of the monuments. The number of inscriptions in connection with the temples recording such provisions are found more in South India and in the mediaeval period. If the temple or religious establishment is more important as at Nālandā, Śravaṇa-Belgolā or Tirupati it is always visited by pilgrims who have left numerous records of their visits and endowments. Some of the large temples in South India, specially in Madras and Tinnevelli districts have on all their inside and outside walls, pillars and pavements many inscriptions of this kind.

It will thus be seen that the religious ideas of the people are often responsible for most of their epigraphical activities and a change in the former brings about a change in the latter. This tendency is also seen in the case of the Muslims and the Catholic Christians who had settled in India in later times,

Next to the constructions of a religious nature come the constructions and objects of a secular nature, public and private, which also were often responsible for inscriptions when they were newly built or made or renovated. Among these may be mentioned the tanks, wells, pathways, river ghats, shelter places, forts, palaces, memorials, guns, bells, household pots, seals etc. It can be imagined how numerous such things can be and although all of them have not given us inscriptions those that have, contributed immensely towards the development of Indian Epigraphy.

Different kinds of eulogistic, donative, commemorative and administrative inscriptions are due to the development of Indian political thought and feudalism and Indian Social ideas and institutions. If some of the tribes in the pre-Christian times have given us interesting inscriptions on coins and the republics of the post-Christian times have given us inscriptions on stone, Indian feudalism which was subsequently developed in all parts of India and outside India too in countries like Java and Cambodia has given us many more inscriptions on coins, seals, memorial pillars, stone slabs and copper-plates. Conquests by one king of the territories of another, construction of works of public usefulness by the rulers and protection of the village cattle against robbers are the main themes of most of the inscriptions. They are, sometimes called *praśastis* in which the bravery and the merits of the successful hero and the public spirit of the ruler are praised often with exaggeration. The numerous hero and *sati* stones called Chhayākhabha in an early Brahmi inscription in S.I., Virakkal in Karnatak and palias in Gujarat are found almost in every village of India form an important class of the commemorative inscriptions. A still more important class of inscriptions, mainly due to the ruling class, is of the land, money and cattle grants, inscribed on stone slabs, copper-plates and temple walls which are also found almost in every village of India. They give a good occasion for the glorification of the grantor, the description of the deity and the religious establishment towards the worship and maintenance of which the endowment was made, of the qualities of the venerable or learned man to patronise whom the grant was issued, of the property granted and of the occasion on which the grant was made. It was thought necessary for the preservation of the national or sectarian culture to maintain the religious establishments and to support the scholars devoted to learning and vowed to preserve it. Admiration of learning, a feeling of necessity to preserve it by helping those who are

capable of doing so and a sense of charity which would bring merit to the donor and a sense of gratefulness and of public spirit which grows with the growth of public institutions are instrumental in the issuing of the numerous donatory inscriptions. Such grants were possible with the development of feudalism and it is found that whenever there was a fall in feudalism they fell in number.

It will thus be seen that the more the religious schools of thought and the desire to acquire religious merit the more the rulers, the brave men and the wealthy men proud of lineage, bravery, fond of praise and inclined to piety and charity the more the necessity and capacity to do the work of public utility, to build temples and instal images in them the more the inscriptions are set up. In short restless activity of a military class is as responsible for setting up inscriptions as the dedicated life of a pious man and the founding and stability of institutions. In other words renunciation of wordly affairs is as responsible for the setting up of inscriptions as the attachment to them.

Contributions to the stock of Indian epigraphical material have been made by all sorts of people irrespective of caste, creed, sex, age or position. Not only the indigenous people of the country have contributed to the stock but Hinduised foreigners beyond the mountains and beyond the seas have also added much to the stock. Since epigraphical activities of the people are seen to have been mainly inspired by religious ideas Indian inscriptions can best be divided into three main classes as Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain. Inscriptions of a purely secular nature e.g., those relating to the building of forts, making of guns etc., for political purposes, to the naval policy of the ancient Indians or to the building of tanks, hospitals etc., for public comfort or to the trading institutions e.g., those in the South or secular arts like music are comparatively few.

A major portion of the epigraphical stock is of course of the Brahmanical Hindus, who form a major portion of the Indian population from the earliest times to the present day. The Buddhist and Jain inscriptions are so sectarian in nature and present only one aspect of the society that the development of Indian Epigraphy can be said to be really due to the Brahmanical Hindus. But a historical review of the epigraphical activities of the Indians during the three centuries before the beginning of the Christian era shows that the Brahmanical Hindus did not at first take much interest in setting

up inscriptions as the Buddhists and to some extent the Jainas did. In the next period of three hundred years the same state of things is seen *viz.* the largest number of inscriptions is of the Buddhists, the number of Jain inscriptions comes next and the number of Brahmanical inscriptions is the smallest though as compared with the number of inscriptions in the previous period the number of Jain and Brahmanical inscriptions is on the increase. But the few Brahmanical inscriptions that are found are sufficient to prove that Brahmanism was then as strong a religious force as Buddhism was so as to attract converts from foreign nationals like the Greeks, Parthians and the Kushanas and that worship of Brahmanical gods like Vishṇu and Śiva and the performance of Vedic sacrifices which is an important feature of Brahmanism was not uncommon. (F. W. Thomas, Vol. p. 29 and J.I.H., Vol. 22 p. 1).

Similarly the South Indians do not seem to have at first taken much interest in setting up inscriptions as the North Indians, specially the West Indian and North-West Indians, did during the period of six hundred years. Secondly although some Buddhist inscriptions are found no Brahmanical or Jain inscriptions are found in this period in South India.

But with the rise of the Gupta power in the North in the middle of the fourth century A.D., and of the Chalukya power in the South half a century later the aspect of Indian Epigraphy was altogether changed in respect of script, language, religion and nature of the records. The Brahmanical Hindus now began to take more zealous interest in epigraphical activities and the number of their inscriptions began soon to outnumber those of the Buddhists and the Jains. Similarly when once the South Indians began to take interest in epigraphical activities the number of their inscriptions began soon to outnumber those of the people of the North. Sanskrit which from very early times had been recognised as the fittest language for religious and academical purposes but which on the advent of Buddhism was superseded by Prakrit on certain grounds now began to be generally recognised for epigraphical purposes not only by the orthodox Hindus but also by the Buddhists and the Jainas. In South India in addition to Sanskrit the provincial languages began to be equally recognised for epigraphical records. The objects for which the inscriptions were set up began to be varied and different people in different parts of India began to take interest in epigraphical activities. Naturally the

Brahmi script began to assume variations in form from region to region and period to period. The employment of learned men for composing the inscriptions which was possible for the rulers and the rich men and which gave an occasion to the learned men to show off their learning naturally raised the quality of the epigraphical records, and they began to be lengthy and sometimes of literary merit. If private people and among them the religious minded ones had taken special interest in epigraphical activities during the previous period the ruling classes and the people of secular interest now began to take increasing interest in them. Although the Gupta sovereigns were not themselves great devotees of the science of Epigraphy as they were of the science of Numismatics their feudatories and contemporaries a majority of whom were orthodox Hindus—some warriors of the Gupta sovereigns were Buddhists—are seen to have set up many inscriptions. Brahmanical inscriptions of this period found in Further India where by now Indian culture and religion had been firmly established are of as great importance as those in India proper and they add considerably to the stock of Brahmanical inscriptions.

From the seventh century onwards all the three religious communities which with their various sects and sub-sects were flourishing side by side influencing and being influenced by one another were vying with each other in issuing inscriptions in furtherance of their respective religious ideas. But neither the Jainas nor the Buddhists could beat the Brahmanical Hindus in point of the epigraphical activities. The innumerable rulers who have ruled in India over bigger and smaller territories from time to time had been regular followers of the orthodox Hindu faith though they were tolerant towards the Buddhist and Jain faiths and sometimes liberally patronised them. Very few of them had actually become Buddhist or Jain. The followers of the Jain faith claim many more to have been converted to Jainism. Although some times and in some places Buddhist and Jain inscriptions were found in much larger number than the Brahmanical inscriptions the overwhelming Indian population in that period and at that place continued to be always orthodox. They were always loyal to the Śrutis, Smṛitis and Purāṇas and followed the old faith as faithfully as the followers of the heterodox faiths did their own. The paucity of the Brahmanical epigraphical records only shows that the Brahmanical Hindus of the particular period and of the particular place did not take as much interest in epigraphical activities as the Buddhists

and the Jainas especially the Buddists owing to their peculiar religious ideas did.

The inscriptions of the Buddhists and the Jainas moreover are generally short, sectarian, of a stereotyped form and of local importance only. But the inscriptions issued by the Brahmanical Hindus are more of a secular than of a sectarian nature even though their sects and sub-sects were more in number and were more powerful and spread over a larger territory than those of the Buddhists and the Jains. The great variety of the epigraphical records of the Brahmanical Hindus who have always formed the overwhelming majority of the Indians has thus been responsible for the vast development of Indian Epigraphy. The quality of the Brahmanical inscriptions was again decidedly superior. Although the varieties of the material used for epigraphical records by the Buddhists were many and the geographical extent over which the Buddhist records were spread even during the comparatively short period could not be attained by the Brahmanical inscriptions except for a short period in Further India the wide interest, high learning, great care and sustained efforts shown by the learned Brahmanical Pandits well versed in the Vedic, Epic and classical Sanskrit literature and mythology in composing the *praśastis* on stone slabs and copperplates have singled out their inscriptions as belonging to an exceptional class of epigraphical records in the world.

All the good epigraphical qualities of the Brahmanical Hindus, are best seen in inscriptions of the period from the tenth to the thirteenth century A.D. which can be said to be the most flourishing period of Indian Epigraphy. Politically this period may not be bright in the history of India as the several regional principalities by incessantly warring with one another had become weak and unable to check the Muslim invasions but people in each of the regions no doubt lived long a peaceful and highly cultured life as a result of which not only the rulers but the rich people built temples and public buildings and made donations of various kinds on auspicious occasions which were recorded in learned and beautiful inscriptions. South India's contribution to Indian Epigraphy during all this period specially during the Chola period is the greatest and the most valuable in every respect. All the four factors mentioned above specially the fourth which had a stronger influence on the South Indian society contributed greatly to making South India a rich field of inscriptions,

The next larger portion of the stock of Indian epigraphical records was contributed by the Buddhists. The rise of Buddhism was mainly responsible for the revival of Indian Epigraphy which for some unknown reasons seems to have been stopped after the Indus Valley period. With the popularity and spread of Buddhism not only through out India but outside it, Indian epigraphy began to develop very rapidly and soon attained an international importance. The peculiar religious ideas of the Buddhists as shown above were further responsible for the large number of religious inscriptions of different types and incised on various kinds of material. In the first two centuries of the revival of Indian Epigraphy i.e., in the fourth and third century B.C. hardly half a dozen inscriptions of a purely secular nature are found in Northern India, and none in South India. Although in this period some Buddhist monuments were built in North India and they might have been accompanied by inscriptions no Buddhist inscription has been so far discovered. The earliest Buddhist inscriptions may be said to be the edicts of Aśoka at least forty of which in more than 150 versions have been discovered in all parts of India. By his efforts Indian Epigraphy at once assumed an all-India nature. As an epigraphical material Aśoka's edicts possess an exceptional importance in the whole world. It is not known why no other epigraphical material, except a small Aramaic memorial inscription is found of his time. The impetus given by Aśoka to the study of Buddhism had a wonderful effect on the people. For the two centuries immediately following his reign witnessed a sudden rise of magnificent Buddhist stupas throughout India and in the adjoining island of Ceylon, where hundreds of different people had adopted one fundamental common culture. Since association of monuments and the inscriptions incised on their parts recording votive offerings by the devotees is very close with the Buddhists the stupas were accompanied by innumerable inscriptions. Though they are short and purely of a sectarian nature their importance lies in the fact that thereby Indian Epigraphy assumed an all-people nature, for almost all the inscriptions issued during this period were contributed by a large number of common people and very few by rulers or feudal lords. The number of inscriptions at once rose to thousands. Sanchi and Barhut Stupas alone have given us nearly one thousand and five hundred inscriptions respectively. In fact an overwhelming majority of the Indian inscriptions of this period is of the Buddhists. Except in the early mediaeval period and in a particular locality

of Bihar viz. Nālandā which witnessed wonderful academic and epigraphical activities of the Buddhists from all parts of India and from outside India Buddhists' contribution to Indian Epigraphy was never so great as in this period. The geographical extent over which the inscriptions were spread was very great. A substantial contribution to Indian Epigraphy of this period was received from an unexpected corner. The different nationalities of foreigners who entered India from the North-West before and after the beginning of the Christian era tried to conquer India but soon found that they were themselves conquered by the Hindu civilization. For they were so much attracted towards Hindu culture and religion and became their devotees that they sometimes excelled even the indigenous Hindus in setting up inscriptions, which by quality and peculiarity form an important class in itself of Indian inscriptions. A majority of their inscriptions are Buddhist. The rich stores of Buddhist inscriptions from Peshawar and Mathura dated in the two centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era are particularly noteworthy. The general prevalence of Buddhism in N. India, Kashmir, Afghanistan, Central Asia and Chinese Turkistan during this period is attested by numerous remains of Buddhist monuments and inscriptions. The munificence of the Satavahanas and the great missionary influence of Nāgārjuna and others were responsible for the spread of Buddhism in South India where a number of magnificent stupas accompanied by beautiful inscriptions were built especially in the Krishna valley. From about the third century A.D. if the North Indian Buddhists slackened their epigraphical activities the South Indian Buddhists specially from Andhra strengthened them and made up for the deficiency. But the Buddhist epigraphical activities soon lost their vigour even in the South.

With the revival of Brahmanism in the fourth century A.D. and with the increasing interest in Brahmanical epigraphy taken by the ruling classes who almost all transferred their allegiance to the orthodox Brahmanical faith Buddhist epigraphy began to decline. Its aspect also was somewhat changed. Magnificent Buddhist stupas and monasteries which formerly gave occasion for numerous inscriptions were now hardly built. The great contribution which Buddhist epigraphy used to receive from the rulers and the people of North-West India and Central Asia was now completely stopped India having lost political control over the provinces. Buddhist epigraphy suffered an irreparable loss by

this. Although in the seventh century Harshvardhan is said to have offered a special patronage to Buddhism, Buddhist epigraphy does not seem to have attained any great popularity until the ninth century when under the liberal patronage of the Pālas of Bengal Buddhism and along with it Buddhist epigraphy witnessed a great revival in Bihar and Bengal and in Further India which was responsible for a very large number of beautiful Buddhist Sanskrit inscriptions. But this glorious revival of Buddhism was destined to be short lived. The wonderful epigraphical activities of the Buddhists throughout the Indian peninsula and abroad begun in about the third century B.C. were zealously carried on with frequent up-heavals and downfalls for nearly 1,500 years when in about the twelfth century A.D. they were abruptly stopped mainly by the invasions and conquests of the iconoclast Muslims.

The Jainas whose religious ideologies were almost the same as of the Buddhists were equally enthusiastic in setting up inscriptions on the pedestals of statues of the Tīrthankars or on Āyāgapaṭas or other sculptures or on memorial pillars or on stone slabs and copperplates recording grants. The Jainas do not seem to have built any big stūpas as the Buddhists did, except at Mathura in the early centuries of the Christian era but they built a number of beautiful temples throughout India in honour of their Tīrthankaras and followed the practice of installing hundreds of miniature Jain images in the niches of temples. Consequently a number of inscriptions giving names of the several Jain Gachchhas and pontiffs and dates are found. As stated above the Jainas did not take much interest in setting up inscriptions in the early period. If the Ājīvikas mentioned in the Aśoka and Daśaratha inscriptions were not Jainas the earliest Jain inscription is of the Orissa king Khāravela found in the Hāthigumphā cave in the Udayagiri hills. A number of important Jain inscriptions are no doubt found at Mathura, which belong to the early centuries of the Christian era and a few stray inscriptions of the Gupta period are found in North India and of the Chalukya period are found in South India their epigraphical activities seem to have regularly begun from the seventh century onwards in South India and from the eleventh century onwards in North India. Śravana Belgolā in the Mysore State which alone has given more than one thousand inscriptions from the seventh century to the modern times seems to have formed an important centre of Jainism in the South. The Jainas seem to have doubled their epigraphical activities from about the

11th or 12th century A.D. when the Buddhists had altogether stopped them as a result of which we find a number of Jain inscriptions almost in every place in India where even a few members of the small community had resided for business purposes. It is impossible to enumerate even the most important places of Jain epigraphical importance. It may however be noted that some of the most important of them like Abu, Girnar and Pālitānā are rich in inscriptions set up from time to time. The epigraphical activities of the Jainas begun from the first century B.C. are still carried on.

Decline of Indian Epigraphy —

The Muslim rule over India brought about the decline of Indian Epigraphy. With the conquest of North-West India by the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Sythians, Indo-Parthians, Kushāns and Hūṇas in ancient days, Indian Epigraphy, instead of suffering at their hands, received a new impetus as all these foreigners soon became enthusiastic followers of Hinduism and Buddhism and excelled the indigenous people in setting up inscriptions which were in no way different from the indigenous inscriptions. The Muslim conquerors, on the contrary, not only refused to be so assimilated in the Hindu Society but by converting as many Hindus as possible to their own faith tried to increase their own number and thus to form a separate block from the Hindu block inside India. Indan Epigraphy received a direct blow at their hands when they began to destroy the Hindu temples and inscriptions wherever they went. By an indirect blow they caused deterioration, if not complete destruction, of the Hindu epigraphy. It is shown above how certain factors like the development of Indian religious thought and ritualism, Indian architecture and iconography Indian political thought and feudalism, and Indian social ideas and institutions contributed to the development of Indian Epigraphy. Breakdown of these factors naturally brought about the decline of Hindu epigraphy. It is known that the Hindu kings and feudal-lords issued land grants to get a religious merit to themselves and to do some good to the grantees. They formed the bulk of Indian inscriptions. This noble action of the grantor would naturally invite praise which was sometimes recorded in a *praśasti* inscribed on a stone-slab or a copper plate. When, owing to the Muslim conquest, the Hindu kings and feudal lords were eliminated one after another there was no patron king whose glories or exploits were to be sung and

in the absence of the patronage there was no court poet to sing them. Thus the days of the *praśastis* had gone; there was less scope for the eulogistic or donatory or religious inscriptions. The inconoclast Muslim conquerors having destroyed temples and inscriptions in them nobody would dare to build a new temple or restore an old one. There was thus very little chance of an inscription being set up in the temple recording that incident and casually the qualities of the builder and the religious importance of the place. The only occasion for a Hindu to issue an inscription was when a memorial pillar was to be set up in honour of the warriors who fell in battles while fighting with the Muslims or with the dacoits or molesters of women folk or where a well was to be dug. But such inscriptions did not require the services of a learned composer, a select material, a neat writer, a skilful engraver nor a decent shelter. When the Muslim power was firmly established, the Hindus not only lost their political importance but also their religion and culture were in danger. Sanskrit language and the learned Shastries who studied it and used it in inscriptions began to be less respected and less patronised.

Although Muslim rule hastened the use of Indian vernaculars at the cost of Sanskrit, vernacular epigraphy even did not flourish. We know that in the 4th century B.C., Prakrit was preferred to Sanskrit for epigraphical records because it was thought that Sanskrit was the language of the learned few with vested interests and Epigraphy if it was to be of public use should be in Prakrit. But with the introduction of new religious thought among the people, the times were very favourable for the development of epigraphy and people in general took so much interest in the subject that the Prakrit Epigraphy received support from all kinds of people; even from foreign invaders. Naturally it developed rápidly and absence of Sanskrit was not much felt. It is true that Prakrit epigraphy did not attain the high quality which Sanskrit epigraphy attained afterwards in a short time. But at least the number of inscriptions in the Prakrit language was so large that the Prakrit epigraphy formed a special class of Indian epigraphy. Nothing like this can be said of the Vernacular epigraphy. In fact during the Muslim days even the Indian vernaculars except Marathi and Oriya do not seem to have grown above the state of infancy and did not attain sufficient importance. The four South Indian vernaculars, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, and Malayalam, had already begun to grow from the 6th or 7th century A.D. and had already become

very rich by the patronage of both the rulers and the ruled. The number of epigraphical records in them was already very large before the Muslims came. There was no Sanskritic vernacular except Marathi and Oriya which had some epigraphy of its own. Marathi had already become rich in its literature and could produce works like *Jñāneśvari* of a very high literary value. Though some inscriptions in Marathi and Oriya generally mixed up with Sanskrit and inscribed on stone and copper had appeared the Marathi-knowing and the Oriya-knowing people also did not seem to be much in favour of Marathi or Oriya being used in the inscriptions. The Orissa people comparatively took greater interest in Oriya epigraphy. Although Sanskrit, unable to face the strong opposition of Arabic and Persian, was thrown in the background and had lost much of its former glory and patronage, it did continue to be always held in reverence by the Hindus throughout India.

Indian epigraphy or rather Hindu Epigraphy was thus in a pitiable condition in those days. Knowledge of Sanskrit was lost and proficiency in vernaculars was not attained. Consequently when the Hindus wanted to write inscriptions they wrote them in bad Sanskrit or bad vernacular. As Sanskrit was always held in honour in literature and epigraphy they tried to give Sanskritic appearance to the vernacular inscriptions. A marked deterioration in the technique of writing inscriptions is also visible in all respects. It also seems that the Hindus did not now entertain as much zeal for writing inscriptions as they did before the Muslim times. With all these disabilities of the Hindus we find some excellent Brahmanical and Jain inscriptions even in the Muslim period because their interest in setting up inscriptions was not altogether lost.

On the contrary the Muslims introduced their own palaeography and epigraphy which by their fortune had already been well established in other Muslim countries. Under the patronage of the Muslim dynasties, Imperial, provincial and local, which were firmly established in all parts of India and by the enthusiastic support of the Muslim people themselves a number of magnificent monuments were built throughout India and since inscriptional decoration was a chief feature of a Muslim building their mosques and tombs, durgas and idgas were accompanied by various inscriptions consisting of the Quaranic texts, traditions of the Prophet,

Muslim creeds, moral teachings and passages of a religious nature from standard authors. Similarly other structural monuments, public or private like forts, bastions, gateways, palaces, madressas, tanks, stepwells, bridges, footpaths, boundary pillars, etc. and articles of public or private use like guns, swords, seals, signets, amulets, etc. bear evidence of the Muslim fondness for inscriptional decoration. Every Muslim ruler great or small and the state official of whatever position had his own official seal which he had to use in every official correspondence. These seals have given us innumerable short but beautiful Muslim inscriptions, as they were changed with the change of the ruler and the official by transfer or death. In this way Muslim epigraphy began to develop more and more and the Hindu epigraphy received a set back. A sharp contrast began to be seen. Although introduction of paper was to a considerable extent responsible for the free use of *firmāns* etc., which minimised the necessity of issuing stone and copper plate inscriptions the number of inscriptions issued by the Muslims in a comparatively short period is very large. Owing to their separate script, language and nature the Indo-Muslim epigraphical records which were found in all parts of India and which number many thousands form quite a distinct class. In course of time Muslim epigraphy also declined with the decline of the Muslim power in India caused by the rise of the Marathas and the European powers like the British.

Like the Muslims there were some other foreign settlers in India viz. the Aramaics, Syrians, Armenians, Parsis, Jews and the Portuguese, Dutch, French, English, etc. who had refused to be admitted into the Hindu Society and had remained as separate communities with their religion and culture different from those of the local people. They have also left quite a large number of their own epigraphical records which, though different in script, language and nature can be said to form one more class of Indian Epigraphical records. Their epigraphy declined with the decline and disappearance of their power in India.

Indian epigraphy is now almost dying out owing to the universal apathy to inscribing records caused by the introduction of paper, the invention of the art of printing and the spread of democratic ideas in the people. There is no doubt growing a tendency to set up inscriptions purely of a secular nature on the occasion of laying the foundation stones of monuments or embankments of

tanks or of raising commemorative pillars in honour of the departed great men or the heroes fallen in battle but they are short, almost of a stereotyped form and do not possess the importance of the old inscriptions much less of the beautiful and learned *praśastis.*

It is now well known that Indian culture in all its aspects was introduced in Further India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Several hundreds of inscriptions written in Sanskrit or in the native languages have been discovered and published by the Dutch and French epigraphists. They throw considerable light on the various aspects of the civilisation that was developed in the distant lands by the Indian colonists. They have also an important bearing on Indian history and culture. The Sanskrit inscriptions found there constitute an independant branch of Sanskrit literature which for quality as well as for quantity richly deserves a critical study by Sanskritists in all the countries. But the Muslim conquest of further India also brought about the complete fall of the Hindu epigraphy there as the people there were almost all converted to Islam.

Loss and destruction of some Epigraphical Material:

Some portion of the epigraphical material is lost or destroyed due mainly to three reasons: Ravages of time, ignorance of friendly people and vandalism of unfriendly people. The stone inscriptions which are generally engraved on parts of caves as at Kanheri, Karla, etc., and on outer walls of temples as at Tirupati, Simhachalam, etc., and are always exposed to inclemancies of weather have almost withered away and have become quite unintelligible and therefore useless. Another class of exposed inscriptions is of the memorial pillars which are generally raised outside the village and completely in the open. Some inscribed copper plates being buried down in the ruins of houses or temples in the walls of which they were kept hidden for protection are found almost completely rusted and damaged. It is no wonder that inscriptions on wooden tablets or on such frail material as birch-bark or palm leaf have perished in the course of time or by fire. A curious case of an early inscription on a wooden pillar having completely withered away took place only recently. The pillar was found embeded in a tank at Kirary in Madhya Pradesh for more than 1700 years but as soon as it was taken out and exposed to the sun the inscribed portion was peeled out and is completely lost (*E.I.*, 18. 153).

Some more inscriptions on stone slabs and sculptures are lost to us being effaced and misused for building and other purposes by

persons who did not know their importance and did not wait to find what was written in them. The remains of Harappa which must have contained numerous inscribed seals were carried away for years together till the site was declared a protected area only recently. The Bhaṭṭiprolu *stūpa* in the Krishna District (Andhra State) was demolished for the purpose of making a road and some of its sculptures which must have contained valuable inscriptions, as we find from other sculptures fortunately saved to us, were utilised in building a sluice on the Krishna Canal. The pious Burmese gentlemen enthusiastic in the cause of their religion, but perfectly innocent of all knowledge of architecture and the requirements of archaeology and history had done serious mischief to the antiquities of Buddhagaya while undertaking repairs to the temple in 1877 A.D., (*J. R. A. S.* XIII (1881) p. 533). A typical case as to how an inscription was damaged its value not being known can be cited of the inscribed Eran pillar, which was transformed into a Śiva linga by a pious devotee. An inscription on a stone slab at Pandharpur called Chorāsi Śilā has almost disappeared being constantly rubbed away by pilgrims rubbing their back on the slab supposing that thereby they would be free from the 84 lacks of rebirths. How a thing done quite innocently or even with a good intention ultimately causes harm can be seen from this.

But the greatest loss of the epigraphic records was caused by the wilful vandalism of the bigoted Muhammedan conquerors who bent upon destroying the religious and cultural objects of the subdued Hindus caused a wholesale destruction of their temples and inscriptions which were contained in them as ruthlessly as the Spanish missionaries did of the records of the Mexicans and Central Americans, (Diringer, the *Alphabet* p. 121). A Sanskrit inscription on the back of a statue of Buddha at Sarnath tells us that the principal monuments of the Deer Park were restored in the reign of king Mahīpala of Bengal in 1026 A.D., only nine years after the capture of Banaras by Mohammad of Gazni. But the monuments were destroyed again by Shiyabuddin Ghori in 1193 A.D. Similar was the case of the Somnath temple in Saurāshṭra which as the inscriptions tell us was again and again broken and restored. All over India the earliest mosques and tombs were constructed of pilfered material from Hindu, Buddhist and Jain temples as we find from the inscribed slabs inadvertantly allowed to remain as they were. The Chaurashi Khamba Mosque at Kaman near Bharatpur con-

tains a Sanskrit inscription which shows that the mosque was built with the material of a Vishnu temple (*I.A.S.*, 10. 34 and *A.S.W.I.*, 1895-96, p. 3). Upon one of the old pillars of a mosque in Ahmedabad is a Sanskrit inscription which gives the name of the original temple. The Deval Masjid at Bodhana in Hyderabad State, as its name signifies was originally a Hindu temple (*Hyderabad Archl. Surv., Rep.* 1921-24, p. 10). A typical and intentional destruction of the valuable Hindu epigraphs can be seen in the Jummā Masjid at Dhār in Madhya Bharat, where huge slabs, each measuring 5 feet by 6 feet by 3 inches and inscribed with a Prakrit drama are used in the walls the inscribed part being turned inside and in the pavement to be constantly rubbed by the feet of the visitors. Cousens writes about it thus 'It is most distressing and vexatious to find some 1200 square feet of the floor of the building paved with great number of these slabs from which the inscriptions have been carefully chiselled away leaving portions of lines of letters near the edge which are just sufficient to show us the full measure of our loss through the blind intolerance and fanaticism of the Muhammedans. (*A.S.W.I.*, 1902-03, p. 6).

The Christian animosity to Hinduism was also sometimes responsible for the destruction of Hindu temples and epigraphical records. A fragmentary stone slab inscription of the twelfth century A.D., which registers a tax-free gift of land for burning a lamp before the image of Kūttadundvar (Naṭarāja) in the temple of Śuramudaiyar was excavated below the Cathedral at St. Thomas Madras (*A.R.S.I.E.*, 1922-23, p. 32, No. 215). Destruction of Hindu temples and of the inscriptions they contained by the Portuguese was very great.

We have reason to believe that some inscriptions must have existed though they are not yet forth-coming. Either they must have been destroyed or they might have been still underground. Dr. B. M. Barua has given a long list of some versions of the edicts of Aśoka, which must have existed though they are not yet found. Hiuen Tsiang speaks to have seen sixteen pillar inscriptions of Aśoka but now ten only are found; the remaining six inspite of the massive size seem to have been destroyed, like the edicts of Sanchi and Sopara, pieces of which are discovered. It is not unlikely that some of the edicts of Aśoka may have been underground and might some day be discovered like the Aśoka edicts in the Hyderabad and Mysore States which are but only recently discovered. A new

version of the minor rock edicts of Aśoka bearing his own name as at Maski is just found at Gujjar in Vindhya Pradesha. Ravikīrti, the author of the famous Aihole inscription speaks of his poem as a new treatment of the theme, which leads us to presume that he must have written another poem which is not found as yet. Charters of Kashmir kings said to have been utilised by Kalhaṇa for writing his history of Kashmir have not been discovered.

Inspite of all these calamities, the epigraphical records that are now before us are innumerable. The stock is being every year augmented by new discoveries of underground records casually made e.g., by the village cow-boys or by prolonged official investigations and excavations regularly made.

It can, therefore, be safely said that probably there is no other country in the world which can boast of such a rich epigraphical treasure as India possesses. Leaving out of consideration the small and innumerable votive clay seals containing wonderfully minute inscriptions of the Buddhist creed the number of all sorts of fairly big and important inscriptions in India may exceed a lakh in number. For the possession of such epigraphical material, India, of all countries, has reason to be particularly proud.

It may be noted here that by Indian Epigraphy is meant Epigraphy of United India i.e., of India and Pakistan. Although as a result of the recent partition India has lost to Pakistan a considerable portion of her territories in the North-West and in the East, Indian Epigraphist has to forget that such a partition of the country had ever taken place and has to think of India as a whole while studying this subject. Firstly, because territorial divisions arbitrarily made cannot break the cultural unity of a nation. Present-day political boundaries do not necessarily conform to ancient cultural zones (*Archaeology in India, Preface*). Secondly, the epigraphies of Bharat and Pakistan are so much interlinked that one country cannot study its own epigraphy without constant reference to that of the other. Bharat may for a time give up its claim over the epigraphic records in West Pakistan as it had once done over those in Afghanistan and Central Asia but how can Pakistan forget most of its important epigraphical records which are in Bharat ? Similarly, how can Bharat forget the epigraphical records in East Pakistan or East Bengal without the support of which West Bengal's epigraphical body can never stand.

The Indian Epigraphists cannot also ignore the border countries of India like Iran and Afghanistan on the West, Central Asia, Tibet and China on the North, Burma on the East, Ceylon on the South and even countries like Siam, Indochina and Indonesia in further East, whose epigraphic records influenced by Indian culture and religion make an important contribution to India's Epigraphy. Nepal, although politically independent of India, has been like one of its parts for epigraphical consideration as for historical, religious, and social considerations. Prof. S. Levi is perfectly right when he says 'Nepal in its Himalayan isolation presents a synthetic view of India as she was before Mohammedan invasion'.

How epigraphy originated and progressed in other countries and how our epigraphical records can be compared with those of the countries will be an interesting study in itself. Without however dealing with the subject here it can only be said that while epigraphical records in other countries like Egypt, Messapotamia and Iran are more ancient than those in India those countries seem to have slackened their epigraphical activities when India began her own with wonderful zeal, so that no other country in the world now has such a vast collection of epigraphical records.

Māhiṣmatī in Ancient India

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Māhiṣmatī or Māhiṣmatīpura (Pali Māhissatī) was an ancient city of India now identified with Māndhātā, on the borders of the Indore State, on the right bank of the river Narmadā or with Maheśvara or Maheśa.[1] Some hold that Māhiṣmatī was situated about 40 miles south of Indore. The Barwani Copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Subandhu (year 167) refers to Māhiṣmatī now represented by Maheśvara.[2] Maheśvarapura has been identified with Māhiṣmatīpura, the capital of the Cedis.[3] Māhiṣmatī and Avantī are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as two distinct places.[4] At some later period Māhiṣmatī, which was a city of considerable antiquity and repute, fell under and within Avantī.[5] Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* mentions Māhiṣmatī along with Vaidarbha and Kāñcīpura (Conjeeveram) (IV. I. 4th Āhṇika).

Oṃkāra Māndhātā[6] with which Māhiṣmatī has been identified by Pargiter, was on an island attached to the Nemad district of

1. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 257, f. n. 6; *JRAS* 1910, pp. 445-46; *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p. 333 note, where Pargiter points out that it hardly agrees with what is stated in the Sanskrit writings; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, XVII, p. 9; X, 329; Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 1924 Ed. pp. 725-26.
2. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 262.
3. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 725.
4. *Mahābhārata*, Sabhāparva, II. 31. 10; II. 31. 21:

   Tatastenaiva sahito narmadāmabhito yayau |
   Vindānuvindāvāvantau sainyena mahatāvṛtau |
   Jigāya samare vīrāvāśvineyaḥ pratāpavān ||
   Tato ratnānyupādāya purīṁ Māhiṣmatīṁ yayau |
   tatra Nīlena rājñā sa cakre yuddhaṃ nararṣabhaḥ ||
5. *JRAS*, 1910, p. 867; *Ibid.*, 1908, p. 313.
6. Vide very useful and learned section on the list of *tīrthas* in Dr. P. V. Kane's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. IV (1953), p. 777.

Central Provinces.[7] Some have identified Māhiṣmatī with Mysore. The more general view has identified it with a town named Maheśvar on the northern bank of the Narmadā in the Nemad Zilla of the Indore State. Patañjali makes sunrise at Māhiṣmatī setting at Ujjayinī. He thus indicates that the distance between the two places was appreciable, but could, as a special feat, be covered between sunrise and sunset.[8]

Māndhātā is not to the south of the Vindhyas but in the range itself. As it was the capital of a country, this country must necessarily have included a portion of Central India immediately to the north of this mountain range.[9]

Māhiṣmatī (later known as Gonaddha) was known to the ancient Tibetans as *Ma-he-ldan.*[10] It lay on the south-west of Ujjayinī. It was the southern most town of the Avantī country, wherefrom the Aryas crossed the Vindhyas and penetrated south India.[11] The city of Māhiṣmatī lay on the route from Bāvarī's hermitage to Śrāvastī.[12]

Māhiṣmatī is mentioned in the inscriptions at Sāñcī in which the visitors to the *stūpas* are described as coming from Mahisati, Māhasatī and Māhisatī.[13] The inscription on the Māndhātā plate of the Paramāra king Devapāla tells us that in the 13th century A.D., when he made the grant recorded in it, he was staying at Māhiṣmatī and the grant was made by him after bathing in the river Narmadā.[14] Pargiter points out that in the *Narmadā-māhātmyas* Māhiṣmatī is not alluded to because it had undoubtedly fallen into ruin and oblivion.[15]

In the account of *svayamvara* of Indumatī we find that the chief portress introducing the various suitors came to Pratīpa, king

7. *Mbh.* Udyogap., 19. 23-24, 166. 4; Anuśāsanap., 2. 6. 11; *Bhāgavata-purāna,* IX. 15. 22.
8. *JRAS.,* 1910, p. 446.
9. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures,* 1918, p. 45.
10. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha,* p. 176.
11. *Carmichael Lec.* 1918, 22.
12. *Suttanipāta,* v. 1011; *Suttanipāta Commy.* II, p. 583—*Mahissatīnāmikaṃ purimanagaraṃti vuttaṃ hoti.*
13. *Epigraphia Indica,* 2. 109. No. III; 389 ff. Nos. 313, 314, 317.
14. *Ibid.,* 9, 108.
15. *JRAS,* 1910, p. 868,

of Anūpa, a descendant of Kārtavīrya.[16] She said thus—"Be thou the Lakṣmī on the lap of this long armed king, if thou dost wish to see through the windows of his palace the Revā (Narmadā) charming with rippling waters, which is a girdle round the hip-like ramparts of his city Māhiṣmatī."[17]

According to Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa* (VI. 43) Māhiṣmatī was a flourishing city situated on the bank of the river Revā or Narmadā with its network of buildings.

"Asyāṅkalakṣmirbhavadīghavāpormāhiṣmatīvapranitaṃvakāñciṃ / prāsādjalairjalaveṇiramyāṃ Revāṃ yadi prekṣitumasti kāmaḥ" / /

According to the *Harivaṃśa* (38.14 ff) the river Narmadā flowed past Māhiṣmatī.[18] Māhiṣmatī seems to have been situated on the river Narmadā between the Vindhya and the Rikṣa and it can be safely identified with the modern Māndhātā region, where there was the river called Mahiṣikā mentioned in the Kiṣkindhyākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (XLI, 16). Māndhātā lay to the south of the Pāriyātra mountain (western Vindhyas) whereas Māhiṣmatī lay between the Vindhya and the Rikṣa (to the north of the Vindhya and to the south of the Rikṣa) according to the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha.[19] The Rikṣa mountain was invariably associated with the middle Narmadā region of which Māhiṣmatī was the most important city.[20] The *Harivaṃśa* (Viṣṇuparva, 38.19) lends support to this fact that the Rikṣa mountain has been described as belonging to the people of Māhiṣmatī:

Mahāśmasaṅghātavatī-Rakṣavantaṃ upāśritā
Māhiṣmatī nāma purī prakāsamupayāsyati.

Some are of opinion that Māhiṣaka was the name of the country of which Māhiṣmatī was the capital.[21] Māhiṣakas were undoubtedly the same people as Māhiṣmakas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Aśvamedhaparva, lxxxiii, 2475-7). The *Harivaṃśa* (I. Ch. 14)

16. *Raghuvaṃśa,* VI, 43.
17. *JRAS,* 1910, p. 444.
18. Cf. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa,* X. 79—*Praviśya Revāmagamad yatra Māhiṣmatīpurī.*
19. *Harivaṃśa,* II, 38. 7-19; Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 4th Ed. p. 122 f. n.
20. Raychaudhuri, *Studies in Indian Antiquities,* 1932, p. 128.
21. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan,* Sec. iii; *Padmapurāna, Ādikānda,* Ch. 6; *Mahābhārata* Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 9.

states that Mahiṣa was the country of Māhiṣmatī. Fleet says that Mahiṣamaṇḍala mentioned in the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon[22] was the same as Māhiṣa and Māhiṣmatī.[23] Māhiṣika mentioned in the Bhīṣmaparva list of the *Mahābhārata* (IX. 336; lxxxiii, 2475-77; Sabhāparva, XXX, 1125-63; *Matsyapurāṇa,* cxiii, 47) was the same as Māhiṣmatī situated on the Narmadā at a place where the Vindhya and the Rikṣa contracted the valley.[24] Fleet agrees with Pargiter in locating Māhiṣmatī on an island in the Narmadā known as Māndhātā (Mandhatha), an island-village belonging to the Khandwa Tahsil of the Nimār district of Central Provinces.[25]

In the earliest times Māhiṣmatī was the capital of a vigorous kingdom comprising a large stretch of the Narmadā valley and continued to be so till the great Bhārata battle between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas. Māhiṣmatī seems to have been the capital of the southern division of Avantī called Avantī-Dakṣiṇāpatha.[26] According to Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṃsā (p. 93) Dakṣiṇāpatha lay to the south of Māhiṣmatī.[27] Māhiṣmatī was the capital of Haihaya or Anūpadeśa, the kingdom of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who was killed by Paraśurāma.[28] It was also the capital of the Cedis at the time of Kalacuris.[29]

Mahiṣmatī was founded and fortified by Mucukunda, son of Mandhātri, on the rocky bank of the Narmadā, at the foot of both Vindhya and Rikṣa ranges, that is, at a place where the two ranges approached the river.[30] Mahiṣmat, who was the fourth in descent from Haihaya, is said to have founded this city.[31] According to the *Harivaṃśa* (33, 1847) Sāhañja's son Mahiṣmant founded this city. The *Padmapurāṇa* (VI. 115, 4; Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 263) states that Mahiṣa was its founder.

22. *Mahāvaṃsa,* XII, 3; *Mahābodhivamsa,* 114; *Thūpavaṃsa,* 72-73.
23. *JRAS,* 1910, p. 429.
24. *Harivaṃśa,* xcv, 5218.
25. *JRAS,* 1910, pp. 445, 447.
26. *Carmichael Lectures,* 1918, p. 54.
27. *Māhismatyā paratah Daksināpathah.*
28. *Bhāgavatapurāna,* IX. Ch. 15; *JASB,* 1838, p. 499.
29. *Anargharāghava,* Act VII, 115.
30. *Harivaṃśa,* 33; *Brahmapurāna,* 13. 176-78; *Vāyupurāṇa,* 94. 28; *Padmapurāna,* v. 12, 130-32; *Matsyapurāna,* 43, 29-31.
31. Wilson, *Viṣṇupurāna,* Tr., Vol. IV, p. 54; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa,* Tr., p. 371 f.n.

Māhiṣmatī was founded by the princes of Yadu lineage.[32] In the Purāṇas we find that Mahiṣmān was the founder of this city.[33]

According to the *Raghūvaṃśa* (VI. 43) Anūpa country had Māhiṣmatī as its capital. It lay to the south of Surāṣṭra. It seems likely that the Anūpas occupied the country south of Surāṣṭra around Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā. The epigraphic evidence supports this view.

The *Harivaṃśa* states that Purikā was a town in the Māhiṣmatī kingdom (XCV. 5220-28). Purikā most probably belonged to the Paurikas.

Māhissatī was one of the principal stopping places in the north to the south-west route among the routes followed by the merchants either on boats or with their caravans of bullock carts.[34] Māhiṣmatīpura is described in Buddhist literature as one of the regular stages on the route from Paiṭhān to Śrāvastī.[35] Both Ujjayinī and Māhismatī stood on the southern high road extending from Rājagaha to Patiṭṭhāna via Vesālī, Kapilavatthu, Sāvatthi and Kosambī.[36] The lines of communication between Pratiṣṭhāna and the kingdoms of Ujjayinī, Vidiśā, etc. passed through the city of Māhiṣmatī.[37]

The cotton fabrics (*kārpāsikā*) of the best quality were produced in Māhiṣmatī,[38] the capital of the Kuntala country, which included the western Deccan and the north of Mysore according to a 12th century inscription. Fleet takes it to have been included in the southern part of the Bombay Presidency.

Māhissatī was visited by Yasa, and the venerable Sambhūta (*Yang-dag skyes*) lived here.[39] Queen Vasundharā and the royal children were conducted to Māhiṣmatī and presented to Mitravarma.[40] The Buddhist mission was sent by Moggaliputta Tissa to

32. *Matsya*, 43. 10-29; 44. 36; *Vāyu*, 94. 26; 95, 35.
33. *Bhāgavatapurāna*, IX. 15. 22; *Matsyapurāṇa*, 43, 29, 38; *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 11. 9. 19.
34. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 103.
35. *Imperial Gazetteers of India*, XVII, p. 9.
36. *JRAS*, 1906, p. 453; *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 533; *Suttanipāta* vs. 1011-13.
37. *Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 531.
38. *Arthaśāstra*, Book II, Ch. 12; *Ibid.*, Tr., p. 94 & f.n 4.
39. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 176.
40. *Daśakumāracarita*, p. 194.

Mahiṣamaṇḍala probably Mahiṣmant or the country of the Mahiṣakas having had their capital Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.[41]

Having heard the words of Bāvarī who was the teacher of king Prasenajit of Kośala and a contemporary of the Buddha, his disciples were famous in the whole world (*sabbalokassa vissutā*), meditative (*jhāyī*), finding delight in meditation (*jhānaratā*), steadfast (*dhīrā*), who saluted and went round him. All with matted hair and clad in skin departed towards the north. They visited Māhissatī after visiting Patiṭṭhāna.[42] Evidently Bāvarī's disciples must have passed through Māhiṣmatī i.e., to the other side of the Vindhyas through the Vidarbha country as pointed out by Dr. Bhandarkar.[43]

Maṇḍana Miśra afterwards called Viśvarūpa Ācārya lived at Māhiṣmatī and was defeated here in controversy by Śaṅkarācārya according to Madhavācārya's *Śaṅkaradigvijaya* (Ch. 8).

When the empire of Reṇu, a powerful Videhan king, was divided into seven equal parts (*sattadhā samaṃ suvibhattaṃ*) by his brahmin chaplain, Mahāgovinda, the kingdom of Avantī fell to the share of Vessabhū counted as one of the seven contemporary kings of the line of Bharata.[44] Māhissatī belonged to the people of Avantī.[45] The Pali Canonical texts mention Ujjenī as the capital of king Caṇḍapajjota of Avantī in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar seeks to account for this discrepancy by the assumption that the country of the Avantīs was divided into two kingdoms, one placed in the Dakṣiṇāpatha having Māhissatī for its capital and the other, i.e., northern kingdom having its capital at Ujjayinī. This explanation has not so far been disputed.[46]

The first dynasty of Māhiṣmatī was Haihaya.[47] The *Mahābhārata* (II. 30. 1124; V. 165, 5751) refers to the Haihaya kingdom at Māhiṣmatī. The Haihayas mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* established themselves by overthrowing the Nāgas of the Narmadā

41. *Cambridge, History of India*, I, p. 603; *Mahāvaṃsa*, XII, *Dīpav.*, VIII.
42. *Suttanipāta* vs. 1006-11—*Jatājinadharā sabbe pakkāmuṃ uttarāmukhā.*
43. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, pp. 4-5.
44. *Dīgha*, II, p. 236.
45. *Ibid.*, II, p. 235—*Māhissatī Avantīnaṃ;* Cf. *Mahāvastu*, III, p. 208.
46. *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 54.
47. *Matsyapurāṇa*. 43, 8-29; *Vāyupurāṇa*, 94. 5-26.

region. The Haihayas and their descendants, the Avantīs, Bhojas, etc. were all originally of the Sātvata race.[48]

The Pāṇḍava prince Sahadeva in course of his tour to subjugate the southern countries for Yudhiṣṭhira, went to Māhiṣmatī and there fought and conquered Nīla.[49] The statement made in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. LI, p. 220) about Nīla does not hold good, as it is not supported by any reliable evidence.

Arjuna Kārtavīrya was the most glorious ruler of the Haihaya dynasty. He and Nala are styled as the lords of Anūpa.[50] Arjuna Kārtavīrya extended his conquests from the mouth of the Narmadā as far as the Himalayas.[51] The Junāgaḍh rock-inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman refers to his sway which extended over Anūpanivrit or the Māhismatī region and other countries. There were five branches of the Haihayas mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* (43, 48-49). They were as follows: Vītihotras, Bhojas, Avantīs, Kuṇḍikeras or Tuṇḍikeras and Tālajanghas. Pargiter holds that the Vītihotras, Śaryātas, Bhojas, Avantīs, and Tuṇḍikeras, who were all Tālajaṅghas, comprised the five Haihaya families.[52]

The Haihayas were one of the ruling Kṣatriya dynasties of ancient India. Their power was crushed by Pratardana, king of Kāśī. Haihaya is often used as a synonymn of Yādava to denote the whole group of peoples. The Vītihotras are said to be a branch of the Haihayas. The Vītihotras and Aśmakas are closely associated with the Avantīs of the Western Malwa. The Haihayas, Aśmakas and Vītihotras belonged to the great family of the descendants of Yadu, who occupied the countries of the river Chambal in the north and the river Narmadā in the south.[53] Mahāpadma Nanda is described in the *Vāyu*, *Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas* as the destroyer of all Kṣatriya families who ruled over different parts of India along with the Haihayas and others.[54]

48. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* 4th Ed. p. 123.
49. *Mahābhārata,* 2. 30. 1124-63.
50. *Ibid.*, Vanaparva, cxvii. 19.
51. *Ibid.*, III, 116, 11089; 117, 10209.
52. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* p. 102.
53. *Cambridge History of India,* I. p. 316.
54. Raichaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India,* p. 188.

The Bhārgavas were many in Kārtavīrya's kingdom at Māhiṣmatī. After his death their wealth brought down on them the hostility of the Kṣatriyas.[55] Pargiter points out that when the kings of Māhiṣmatī were powerful, the valley of the lower Narmadā and Anūpa would naturally fall under their sway.[56] The fourth successor of the king Bhadraśreṇya of the Haihaya dynasty named Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who was the ruler of Māhiṣmatī, carried, it is, said, his arms over the whole earth.[57] Sagara's destruction of the Haihaya power would naturally have carried him to the Narmadā and their capital there, Māhiṣmatī.[58] When Arjuna Kārtavīrya captured Rāvaṇa and imprisoned him at Mahiṣmatī, Pulastya asked for leniency and Arjuna released Rāvaṇa.[59] Daśāśva reigned at Māhiṣmatī, whose descendants are mentioned in the Anuśāsanaparva of the *Mahābhārata* (xiii, 2. 88-172). Kārtavīrya's son captured Māhiṣmatī from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas and made it his fortress-capital.[60] It is interesting to note that the Kurus had the kings of Māhiṣmatī and Avantī in Madhyadeśa as their allies.[61] Coḍa I, who was the ruler of the country lying between the Vindhya mountain and the ocean, received the title of the lord of Māhiṣmatī, because he derived his descent from Arjuna Kārtavīrya.[62]

55. *Mahābhārata* (Vaṅgabāsi Ed.) Ādiparva, clxxviii, vs. 11-18; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, Tr., p. 310.
56. *Mbh.*, Vanaparva, cxvi, v. 19:
Kadācit tu tathaivāsya viniskrāntāḥ sutāḥ prabho |
athānūpapatirvīraḥ Kārtavīryo 'bhya vartata | |
Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Tr., 344 f.n.
57. *JRAS.*, 1910, p 442; *Padmapurāna*, VI, 115, 3-4; 179, 2.
58. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 156.
59. *Harivaṃśa*, 33. 1876-78; *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, iii, 69. 35-7; *Matsya*, 43. 37-9; *Raghuvaṃśa*, VI. 38-40.
60. *Mahābhārata*, iii, 116, 11089; *Ibid.*, 117, 10209.
61. *Cambridge History of India*, I. p. 274.
62. *Epigraphia Indica*, XIX, p. 155.

The Unsuccessful Expeditions of Rijcklof Van Goens and Adriaan Van Der Meyden to the Malabar Coast (1660-1661)*

Mrs. Meilink's narrative, translated from the Dutch original with the kind permission of the author.

BY

DR. T. I. POONEN, M.A., PH.D.

During his stay on the fleet in front of the Malabar Coast Van Goens had inspected the settlement at Kayamkulam where Reynier Van Serooskercken again carried on the pepper trade. Van Goens cherished great expectations from that trade which could flourish as soon as the Company had regained their lost influence on the coast. The princeling of Kayamkulam connived at the trade with the Dutch in his land although he lived in great fear of his overlord, the king of Travancore, who had hurled severe threats against his continuance of the trade with the Dutch. Therefore he dared not permit the Dutch to remain at Kayamkulam during the rainy season.

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In Madura the first minister continually intrigued against the Dutch. His aim was the prevention of the Dutch plans for the establishment of a monopoly on the Madura and Malabar coasts. For that purpose he worked in concert with the Portuguese, sought connection with the English and even stirred up Travancore and Quilon against the Dutch.

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From their settlements in old Kayal the English tried to enter into negotiations for trade connections with Quilon. Against this, protests were made by Montanier, the Dutch ambassador at Kayalpatanam, in the name of the United East India Company. This behaviour was not agreeable to his superiors. The contract which the Company had entered into with the Signati had, it is true, shut

* Continued from Vol. XXXII, Part III.

out other nations from the trade, but did not give the Dutch the right to hinder the trade to others. The only result of the protest would be that the English understood how much the Dutch were concerned with the trade at Quilon and how much they (the English) could injure the United East India Company in that trade. In their turn the English at Pondecayl made a protest to the Resident Valkenburg at Tuticorin. They complained of the seizure by the Dutch of a native vessel with English passes which was on its way from Quilon to Purakkad and according to the assertions of the English was loaded by the Dutch because of their want of shipping. But from this protest it became very clear to the Dutch what the English were really striving at, namely, to place under their protection all the native vessels which carried on trade in places where the United East India Company was also at war on the pretext that they had these ships wholly or partly in possession. Some months later the exact aim of the English appeared still more explicit when the Dutch envoys in London were given a memoir wherein they (the English) put in a claim for nothing less than the protection of the navigation of native ships in places with which the Company was not at war. Yea, they even denied the Company the right to search and to take under arrest the native ships belonging to subjects of states inimical to the Company and were on their way to or coming from English trading settlements, a demand which was rightly disallowed by the States-General. Reciprocity on these conditions was not at all tried by England. Here, in a high tone they demanded fulfilment of conditions which England herself turned down contemptuously where she had the power.

Although the Dutch came across these actions intended to thwart them in trade and navigation and to make them hated by the natives, they dared not take violent steps against the English. They had to practise the greatest caution so that they might not come into a conflict with the English. This was to ensure that the United East India Company with their military plans on the Coast was indeed very little inconvenienced and that it should be in contrast with the political policy which the Republic in the earliest days of the Restoration carried on in England. Their policy was to be inspired by the importance of the trade which asked for peace and no irritation of an England which was developing herself in these years into a commercial power.

But the conflict in India was continually more menacing through the resolute attempts of the English to establish commercial settlements at Quilon and Kayamkulam as well as Cochin. The English Chief at Kayal, Walter Travers, went for this purpose to Cochin for reconnoitring the possibilities for the founding of settlements there at Quilon or Purakkad. At the same time he hoped to be able to collect pepper and bastard cinnamon at Cochin. From Cochin Travers was himself to set out for Purakkad as a consequence of the invitation which the English had received the previous year from the prince of the land. The United East India Company was not wholly to expel the English and occupy as indeed they had no right to do either on the Malabar Coast or even on that of Madura. On behalf of the High Government, proposals for this line of policy were handed over at the time by the States-General to the Protector Cromwell.

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Van Goens represented to the Governor-General and Council that with the capture of Cochin the pepper trade to the south of that place upto Cape Comorin would fall into the hands of the Dutch. To the English would then be left the trade to the north from Cochin to Goa without one nation trading in the territory allotted to the other. Van Goens had made good calculation as to where the best growing places of pepper and cinnamon were found and assigned these to the Company. But it remained to be seen whether the English would be contented with the bad pepper and cinnamon.

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Van Goens' representation was received by the Lords Seventeen and the High Government with the necessary scepticism. They did not believe that they could ever conclude a decent agreement with the English who only derived benefit from "quarrels, questions, wranglings and disputes so long as we were not inclined to cede and surrender to them everything as we hope that the Lord God shall defend the Company." The past had in this respect helped to clarification.

The English competition had already made itself felt in the mounting pepper prices. As the prince of Kayamkulam was no longer willing to protect the Dutch against the Portuguese, it became necessary for Van Serooskercken to look for another place

for remaining on the Coast during the rainy season and continuing the pepper trade for the Company. He found shelter with a neighbouring prince, the Raja of Martha, whose territory lay between Quilon and Kayamkulam. He appeared to have expected less consideration from the Portuguese and greater advantages from the Dutch. In the place called "Pondaretourti" in this land, Van Serooskercken continued the trade checked at Kayamkulam —a decision taken without consultation with Van Goens. But in this initiative he far surpassed the not high expectations which his Chief cherished of him although pepper here was also dearer than at Kayamkulam. As Van Serooskercken was loved by the Indian population, Van Goens hoped that this Raja would protect Van Serooskercken against all intrigues and violent acts of the Portuguese, Travancore and other enemies till the coming of the Dutch fleet at the beginning of the following season. The best way to thwart the English in the pepper trade was the old well-tried expedient of buying pepper very largely in small lots. Hereby the price went up and the trade was made unpalatable to the English. After the departure of the English, that high price could not naturally be maintained. As far as possible, the pepper had to be exchanged against merchandise as the Company's cash was needed in other settlements.

Serooskercken hoped to buy about 650 lasts of pepper and thus complete the quota of the 1000 lasts which Van Goens had promised to his superiors. The largest and cheapest pepper grew between Cochin and Quilon; from here it was not only transported to sea-side places, but was also carried inland over the mountains to the kingdom of Carnatic where the merchants bought the same. The blockade of the Coast ports by the Dutch caused much of the pepper of Cochin and Quilon to be carried to the south by short cuts along the lagoons and inland waterways. The Dutch could, as long as they had their establishment at Kayamkulam, buy a great portion of that for low price.

Still, it became more and more obvious that the establishment of a total commercial monopoly would be attended with very great difficulties. The Portuguese had a monopoly, but only of pepper and possessed it only at the time when no European rivals of equal power had appeared on Indian seas. Although they with the exception, indeed, of the pepper monopoly, left free the Indian navigation, the latter was to a large extent dependent on them and

under their protection. In the cafilas which were carried along the coast annually under convoy were found numbers of Indian vessels which paid certain duties for the armed escort which they received from the Portuguese. Likewise, the Dutch, especially after they had, to a very large extent closed the Portuguese navigation through the blockade of Goa, exercised such a control over the Indian navigation. However, they had not only to become masters in the Indian territory, but also to get immediately into an armed conflict with their worst rivals, the English. And it was due to this competition between both European nations that the Indian navigation still possessed a certain freedom of movement. The subjects of the Zamorin carried an extensive trade in pepper, cinnamon, cocoanuts, ginger, coir and other things to Surat Cambay, Muscat, etc. The merchants of the southern states on the Malabar Coast conveyed goods mostly to Madura (East Coast).

The management of the Company understood that, where an agreement with their European competitors was impossible, they should not, for that reason, deny a portion of the trade to the Indian population and Indian princes and chieftains who were themselves mostly interested in that trade. And it remained to be seen whether the Company's wish to hinder other European nations from the trade in the most valuable products (for example, Bengal silk, saltpeter, indigo, pepper and cloths) was feasible in practice.

For the pepper which the Company obtained from the Malabar Coast, a very profitable market was found in the not far off situated Persia. The Malabar pepper was here more wished for than the Sumatra pepper. Profits which varied from 50 to 88% were made on this spice in the years 1660-62. The demand for pepper which came from there to the Company mounted to a quantity of no less than 500,000 pounds annually. The United East India Company tried, as far as possible, to satisfy this demand from the Malabar pepper. And the stock of the collected pepper appeared so large that besides the portion set apart for the return cargo to the Netherlands augmented by the Persian demand, yet a further market was sought and found in Bengal. Of the 600,000 pounds which had been bought at Kayamkulam by Van Serooskercken, 150 last (1 last = 2 tons) were sent to Persia as a first experiment and as much as 42,000 pounds to Bengal. The balance could serve for the annual return fleets to the fatherland and could

be sent to Batavia. Van Goens hoped that in the long run not only Persia but also Coromandel, Surat and the fatherland could be supplied out of the pepper yield of Malabar after the capture of all forts on the Malabar Coast.

The contracts concluded by the Company with the Indian princes guaranteed to them a fixed purchasing price settled by the United East Indian Company. This price was to remain valid for at least four or five years and to be revised and fixed thereafter according to the market price in other lands.

Besides the pepper, the Company was concerned on the Malabar Coast with the wild cinnamon not so much to carry on trade in it themselves as to hinder to others that trade so that the cinnamon of Ceylon could retain its higher market price. The best cinnamon, the mato which was however far behind that of Ceylon in taste and odour, grew in particular between Quilon and Cochin. By capturing both these places the United East India Company would become master of this spice. The Company experienced here the severest competition from their English rivals with the result that the prices mounted and the people themselves planned increased peeling of cinnamon and the United East India Company saw their Ceylon cinnamon threatened. The English could not, it is true, carry the cinnamon to Europe because of the high freight charges but could indeed sell to the Indian population. Here also the only remedy was to buy cinnamon dearly in small lots and then to burn the same. As the bastard cinnamon was found not only on the Malabar Coast but also among other places in Quriam, Tonkin, Flores, etc., the Company should buy this there also so as to bring about by that means a mounting of prices. And through the mounting of prices, the people were encouraged to peel more cinnamon, a vicious circle ! At any rate, the Company hoped in the long run to extirpate wild cinnamon in Malabar. The planting of pepper had to be promoted and people made to look to it for subsistence and not to the peeling of cinnamon. Thus the United East India Company exercised a direct influence on the production process of the natives. The inferior cinnamon (the mato) grew along the entire Malabar Coast from Cape Comorin to Calicut.

Because of the supply of rice to Ceylon, the Company had to maintain good relations with yet another territory along the coast of India proper, i.e., with the rice land of Kanara. Willingly had

the Dutch pushed out of here the Portuguese who had likewise been sent to this land for the supply of Goa. The Naik and his subjects profited from this competition and pushed up the prices very much. Nowhere did the Company buy rice dearer than in these regions.

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Because of the necessity of keeping a strong garrison in Ceylon, less soldiers were then available for a new venture against the Malabar Coast.

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Though the expedition in the spring had yielded no success, yet they had decided to prepare a new undertaking as soon as the rain and storms on the Malabar Coast began to abate. Some ships were first of all to blockade Cochin and the other Portuguese fortresses. For this purpose there sailed to Malabar the yachts, *Schelvis* and *Bantam* with the galleon, the *Charlois*, under the command of bargeman Pieter de Bitter, Vice-Commander of the fleet which previously blockaded Goa. This fleet of Pieter de Bitter was further reinforced by the yachts *Hogelande, Roothaes* and *Zeeblom*. The voyage proper for conquest could not begin before people in Ceylon received sufficient reinforcements from Batavia.

Pieter de Bitter had received orders to put himself in communication with Van Serooskercken for observing how the latter was faring with the Raja of Martha. He had to send back the galliot to Ceylon as quickly as possible in order to acquaint Van Goens of the affairs of the Coast. De Bitter's chief commission was to prevent the navigation to Cochin. He was again commanded not to get into a conflict with the English. He could make prize of all Portuguese vessels loaded with Portuguese goods. From the English ships could be taken only those goods which belonged to the Portuguese while the ships should remain further unmolested. Much less dared the Company to hinder the entry of the English in the Portuguese harbours. At the opposition of the English against the search of their ships, De Bitter certainly should use no violence, but only protest in writing.

It was again Adriaan Roothaes who was sent out with a fleet of ships for the closing of the bar of Goa. After the break up of the blockade fleet in the spring of 1660, the enemy had further

received in his harbour diverse vessels. They were mostly small provision ships as 300 navettes with rice 13 frigates from Cochin and the usual Cafilla from the north, but in addition there was also a big galleon, the *Nossa Signora de Populi,* a ship manned with 250 persons. Besides, there arrived at Bassein in September a carraval ship also. In spite of the small result of the previous blockade, the Governor-General and Council had decided on a renewed blockade in 1660-61. But the Company's situation in Formosa accounted for the fact that the fleet was just allowed to take the sea and that not more than seven ships was equipped. It was not before 4th September that the fleet took to the sea.

The political situation in Europe, where Spain and France had concluded peace and turned their combined armies against the powerless Portugal, made it necessary for this land to come to an agreement with the Dutch. But the Governor-General and Council felt that the peace negotiations which were being carried on in the fatherland with the Portuguese would cut off a very fine occasion to venture a vigorous extension against the Portuguese. . . . . The new expedition to the Malabar Coast, for the most part, had to take place with the soldiers who were already present in Ceylon. Only 250 men could the High Government spare while at least 500 soldiers were necessary and they could not denude Ceylon too much. If Van Goens saw a chance of beginning anything with the troops present in Ceylon, then it was left to his good generalship. Also the fleet in front of Goa could be summoned for co-operation with the expeditionary fleet. Fortunately, Ceylon was just abundantly provided with soldiers of which they could spare a certain number. Finally, the Dutch hoped to have some military support from the Indian princes, especially from the Zamorin.

On the 1st January 1661 Adriaan Van der Meyden appeared in Ceylon with the promised 250 men from Batavia. The Governor-General and Council had not found the accusations brought against him to be of such a nature as to relieve him of his office. Already he could have taken his seat at Batavia in the Council of India. The High Government strongly disapproved the action of Van Goens in having placed his highest colleague in the position of an accused on such unsubstantial grounds without even permitting him to examine the complaints brought against him which after ample investigation by the Council of India appeared for the great

part to be unjustified. Even Van Goens had eventually to admit that they could accuse Van der Meyden of no unfaithfulness or grievous offence. A rather weak administration which perhaps left somewhat too much to subordinates—this is indeed the worst charge that could be brought against Van der Meyden. The thoroughness of a Van Goens, Van der Meyden was totally lacking in, and to this is rightly to be attributed in part the fact that his military operations produced small result. Yet he was not such an incapable servant of the Company as Van Goens wished to depict him. This appears all too clearly from his letters and memoirs. Though they do not possess the clear concise style of a Van Goens, he nevertheless develops therein various fruitful ideas for the Company. The pacification and colonisation of Ceylon was one of the chief troubles he had to face as governor of Ceylon. Noteworthy was his proposal that, for the purpose of causing the Indian magnates to have greater affection towards the Company, they should be allowed to wed Dutch girls whereby there would arise a population of mixed race on whose loyalty the Company could count in the future. In those days the Ceylon citizens were indeed of a very bad quality, consisting mostly of tavern-keepers, ill-tempered persons and drunkards. The conquest of the Malabar Coast would be very advantageous to Ceylon as the Company could pass to those Ceylonese citizens a part in navigation and give them the trade which was carried on between the island and the Malabar and Coromandel Coasts and which now was chiefly in the hands of the Indians themselves.

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Peace was being negotiated in Ceylon with Raja Singa. If Van Goens departed for Malabar just in the middle of these negotiations, the Raja would certainly consider it as an insult. Therefore Adriaan Van der Meyden was appointed as the head of the new expedition. More than three weeks elapsed before a fleet was collected. The ships *Vleiland, Hercules, Zeehond, Oyevaer, Phoenix* and *Geldria* were equipped in Ceylon. On these ships were put 16 companies of soldiers, each of 65 men and 150 lascars, (native soldiers) altogether about 1200 persons. These ships were to work in concert with the Yachts *Bantam, Schelvis, Roothaes, Zeebloem, Waterpas* and the shallop, the *Snoek*, already cruising on the Coast. The Ceylonese garrison remained indeed very scantily provided with supplies.

The Company's navy could hardly be put into sea at the end of January. Hence it was to be feared that the period before the outbreak of the rainy season would be too short for capturing Cochin. But without Cochin other conquests had little value as, as, though Cranganore, Palliport and Quilon were taken and given back to the inhabitants, the Portuguese would certainly repossess those places immediately after the break up of the Dutch forces, the more so as they who had been established in the land for so many years could above all things partly count on the support of the population converted to Catholicism.

The fleet blockading Goa could hardly, after the passing of the ships from Taiwan and Japan, come to the help of the expedition. After this fleet appeared in front of Goa on the 12th October, a large galleon, the *Bon Jesus de Carmel,* crossed to the citadel Agude from the carpenter's yard near Marmagoa accompanied by 6 frigates. The Dutch perceived that it was a ship which had just come from Portugal and hoped to secure a good prize. But, before they could attack that ship which was not ready for battle, the enemy burned it. Between the enemy frigates and the Dutch ships there raged a battle with the result that only two of the Portuguese ships could escape. In consequence of this unlooked for encounter, the Portuguese must have lost 200 men. The burned galleon was one of the ships which had to remain in Goa during the previous year and which profiting by the long absence of the Dutch fleet they had wished to send now to Portugal with a return cargo. After the burning of the galleon, there still remained eight such ships of which four lay below Marmagoa and four below Panjim.

In view of rumours that a new Viceroy was on his way to India with 4 large galleons, Roothaes decided to keep his navy together. He dropped his original sailing plan of splitting his fleet so that a portion should cruise in front of Bombay, Chaul and Bassein. There hardly existed the smallest chance of getting reinforcements in the beginning of December. Meanwhile he sent the yachts *Tholen* and *Cat* besides the galliot, the *Appleboom,* to cruise to the southern coast. On the 3rd November these ships met ten Portuguese frigates from Cochin with Goa as destination under the command of Bernardo Correa. The Dutch pursued these ships near Cape Rama in the river of Cancon. The Portuguese Commander wrote for help to Goa in order that he could break through the Dutch and meanwhile disembarked various Portuguese

households which had started with him from Cochin and now had to travel with their furniture overland to Goa. Although Correa obtained reinforcements from Goa, he dared not risk a sortie. Eventually, after several of his men had deserted to the enemy, he managed to escape close to the shore in complete silence, unseen by the Dutch, and go inside Goa. The Council of Goa decided that Correa should, as soon as possible, be sent back with the war frigates to Cochin for reinforcing the town and providing it with ammunition. How little the Commander of Cochin, Ignatio Sermento, felt himself safe appears clearly from his letters to his superiors in Goa. Again and again, he asked for reinforcements and accused the Governors of Goa of gross dereliction of duty. He had sufficient troops, but he was absolutely without money for paying his soldiers; besides he was all but destitute of war material. The Governors of Goa saw no chance of rendering assistance in sufficient measure to their Commander. They were themselves in pecuniary embarrassment. Because of lack of cash, Sermento could only decide on borrowing and, if that did not succeed, using the silver of the churches. And he had to preserve friendship with the old queen of Cochin for receiving her support in his difficult position.

On the 26th January 1661, Van der Meyden with the ship *Vlieland* had, even before the departure of the other ships, already sailed in advance to the Coast. A letter to the King of Travancore reminded him of his promise to restore Quilon.

On the way between Cape Comorin and Quilon, Van der Meyden met the flyboat *Elburg* coming from Kanara with a rice cargo. In front of Barsalore, this ship fell into great danger of being taken by 7 large Portuguese war frigates. This was the relieving fleet for Cochin under Correa. The master of the ship knew to keep the Portuguese at a distance. According to him, these ships were manned with soldiers, not less than 1200 to 1500 persons, a surely somewhat exaggerated representation of affairs. According to news from the spies in Goa, each ship was manned with not more than 20 men. The Portuguese Commander, forced to withdraw by the resistance which the Dutch offered him, turned his steps to the south for continuing his journey, but, learning that the Dutch fleet had appeared on the Coast, turned back first to Cannanore and went from there to Goa. The complaints of Sermento notwithstanding, fairly considerable reinforcements were

present at Cochin. Serooskercken who in May of the previous year cruised in front of Cochin with two ships was, to the annoyance of Van Goens, unable to prevent 7 frigates with 375 soldiers getting in there. Thereby, the Portuguese had a strength of 20 war frigates. Could they also get the last mentioned auxiliary squadron, then the attacking of their forces would entail great risks.

Van der Meyden directed his steps first of all towards Kayamkulam where he dropped anchor on the 2nd February 1661 and acquainted himself with the state of affairs. For preventing the advent into Cochin of Portuguese succour, Van der Meyden sent Pieter de Bitter with the yacht *Zeehort* to Cochin and Ayakotta. He himself followed with the other yachts. It appears that the auxiliary squadron under Correa then withdrew quickly and turned back to Goa.

The Zamorin made him understand that he gladly wished an interview with the Dutch. If a venture of the latter would succeed, then the support of this most powerful Malabar prince would be of great importance for the Company.

Van der Meyden therefore sent De Bitter and the book-keeper De Haze for an audience with the Zamorin with request for help and elucidation as to "who were permitted to be his and our friends". Yet the Dutch were not wholly easy about the Zamorin's loyalty. The subjects of this prince meanwhile manifested their good disposition by permitting the Dutch to take drinking water and provisions unhindered. De Bitter returned a day later accompanied by one of the princes of the Zamorin's court. This ambassador, on being accorded a friendly reception, made it known that the Zamorin was well disposed to the Dutch and would gladly receive the Commander of the Dutch fleet at his court. This was politely declined by Van der Meyden under the pretext that time was too precious. Immediately after the departure of this prince, the eldest heir to the throne (i.e. the successor to the inheritance) and the king of Cranganore appeared in the fleet. Although the Zamorin had concluded peace with the Portuguese, he was prepared to break the same if the Dutch were willing to capture Palliport and occupy the coast to the south of the river of Cranganore. The Zamorin's troops would then, on their part, try to draw near as closely as possible to Cranganore which place was already besieged by them at four points. These proposals

apart, this conversation gave Van der Meyden an insight into the party relations of the Malabar princes and of the friends and foes whom the Dutch would have to take into account.

A few days later the Zamorin showed his readiness to negotiate a contract and sent again the same ambassadors to Van der Meyden. The Company's and the Zamorin's wishes were weighed against each other and on the following basis a positive agreement was reached.

On the capture of Palliport and Cranganore, the goods, artillery and other things seized must be divided half and half between the Zamorin and the Dutch. The Portuguese and native Christians taken prisoners were to be allotted to the Company, and the Hindus and Muhammadans to the Zamorin. The Catholic Portuguese priests were to be banished. Further, the Dutch promised that they would demolish the captured forts. If they did not succeed in taking Cochin before the departure of the fleet, the Dutch should not, after the capture of Palliport, demolish that fortress but occupy it with a Dutch garrison that should enjoy the protection of the Zamorin. In the negotiations, the interests of the Cochin claimant were not forgotten. The Zamorin and the King of Cranganore promised to make good half of the expenses incurred in that capture. If they succeeded in placing the Cochin claimant on the throne, the expenses were to be entirely met by both the Malabar princes. Concerning justice and the incomes from rents and tolls, the Dutch were wholly to succeed to the rights of the Portuguese. And then followed the most important clause for the Company: all pepper came into the hands of the Dutch for a price to be settled later. The Malabarees on their side asked that a third of the entire pepper yield be set free for the trade of the magnates of the land and their merchants in particular if the Dutch succeeded in establishing a strong fort at the corner of the river of Cochin and driving the Portuguese from there. They were least in agreement about the expenses of the conquests. As Van der Meyden did not wish to appear at the court, the Zamorin himself in his own person condescended to go to the Dutch Commander's place where he was festally welcomed and certain presents were offered to him. He went with agreement on most proposals but showed little inclination himself to support his own troops which he should give to help the Dutch: Van der Meyden made him see that the Dutch had come to his land to help him only on his request and that he himself must therefore pay his troops. But the Dutch,

understanding all too well that without the co-operation of the Malabarees on the Coast not much was to be achieved, guarded against making this a rock of offence and felt that, if above all they offered him their good offices, the rest would surely follow. A Dutch shallop brought the Zamorin with his retinue again to the land. It was now only to be hoped that they could build much on all these promises of the Malabarees.

Meanwhile, Van der Meyden had obtained ten ships together on the Coast besides some smaller vessels. After the appearance of the Yacht *Hercules* under Captain Wash and the *Oyevaer* with the soldiers remaining in front of Ayakotta, Van der Meyden decided to risk a landing to take Palliport.

This happened in good order on the 15th February, a little to the south of Palliport. It came to a fight with an army of Nairs who were armed and under the influence of opium. They were repulsed and many were left dead or taken as prisoners. The Dutch also had to mourn for two dead and seven wounded including a captain and a lieutenant. On the following day, Ven der Meyden carried out his march along the shore. The Dutch made themselves masters of a small Muhammedan mosque wherein the Portuguese had placed a cannon and from which they fired at the advancing troops, but hit none. The Portuguese garrison in this small fane took shelter in the forest and fled to the fort of Palliport. The Dutch now approached the fort very closely along the river and the beach. The garrison under the command of Gomes de Silva consisted of 150 to 200 white and 200 Indian (Topasses and Nairs) soldiers.

Van der Meyden took counsel about storming the fortress with a few companies. The fact that the Portuguese did not retreat thereupon shows clearly that they expected reinforcements. All preparations were made for a sally. Therefore Van der Meyden and his army council decided not to delay the attack as the expected Portuguese reinforcements would not be inconsiderable. Two metal twelve pounders and mortar were brought in front of the fortress. For the protection of their rearguard, the Dutch threw an entrenchment for being secured against a surprise attack of the Portuguese reinforcement coming from Cochin. But while they were busy in the night with the construction of this defence work, the Dutch became aware that the Portuguese tried to escape unseen in vessels. This was done so quickly that the Dutch ships

sailed too late to prevent their escape. With this, the Company became master of the fortress of Palliport. The Portuguese reinforcement not less than 400 to 500 white men and 4 to 5 thousand Nairs, was in rowing boats and approached the land at a distance of about 2 miles, but observing the escape of their people, the Portuguese did not know what it was right to do, to go forward or to turn back. Through their delay, the Dutch gained time to consolidate their position.

Very soon it became evident that the fair promises of the Zamorin were not of much value. He did not furnish to the Dutch workmen for the construction of the fortification at Palliport nor did he send Nairs so that Van der Meyden might advance against Cranganore. He did not wish to accept Palliport which was offered to him by Van der Meyden and very soon rumours went round that not only had the lord of Paliyam again joined the Portuguese, but that the Zamorin and the King of Cranganore sought a new contract with the Portuguese. Letters exchanged between Ignatio Sermento, Captain of Cochin, and the Governors of Goa which had fallen into the hands of the Dutch and from which the equivocal part of the Zamorin could be shown as clear as the sun at noonday showed that these rumours were obviously true. To the Dutch at Palliport the Zamorin brought up again the plea that his alliance and armistice would not be serious so long as the repudiated Cochin claimant was not restored to his throne. Attempts of the Dutch to negotiate with the reigning prince of Cochin and the old Queen were ineffective. The Malabar princes hesitated to choose between two evils. They were afraid that to maintain continued and friendly relations with the Dutch would be making the worst choice? But it was disappointing for the Dutch that their good intentions were rewarded with so little faith.

Van der Meyden felt himself very unsafe at Palliport. Had he at his disposal a large army of 600 or 1000 soldiers, then there was perhaps yet something to be undertaken. In the given circumstances he despaired of achieving any success against Cochin. Van der Meyden judged that, for a capture of that fortress, at least an army of 2000 or 2500 soldiers was required. Of this Ceylon could perhaps supply a thousand, but the rest had to come from Batavia. If such a military force could not be gathered, then they must still in any case recapture Quilon. Van der Meyden still thought that even with the soldiers at his disposal he could

risk the recapture of Quilon, but this plan was also given up and on 5th March 1661, he broke camp from Palliport.

At Kayamkulam the Indian merchants seriously complained of the seizure of their vessels by Dutch cruising yachts. They even made demands for compensation for the Quilon vessels which were made prize on sailing without pass from the United East India Company. They refused to supply pepper further to the Company if first satisfaction was not given to them. In order that the ships which came to take pepper might not have to depart unloaded, Van der Meyden was forced to yield. Besides the king of Kayamkulam appeared very much offended and threatened to seize the Company's property and to push out the Dutch from his land if they insisted on attacking Quilon and other places situated on the south coast. Over and above that, he asked for passes from Quilon, Calicut, Cannanore and from the Madura Coast. Van der Meyden found it advisable to clear a portion of the Company's money and stock from the warehouses both at Kayamkulam and at Karunagapalli in the land of Martha and to bring them aboard ship. The rest he left behind at Kayamkulam under the superversion of Van Serooskercken while small yachts were to remain cruising in front of the Coast. The book-keeper De Haze was sent to the Zamorin with three small cannon taken as prize at Palliport to obtain his ratification of the articles agreed on. Van der Meyden's hope that the help of Roothaes' fleet would yet reach him likewise vanished into smoke. He received news that an attack of some galleons from Goa was feared and thus Roothaes could not spare a single ship from the blockade. The Council of Goa had, at the instance of the Admiral Don Luiz de Mendoso Furtado, decided to equip four of the eight galleons present at Goa for smashing the attempt by the Dutch. But this not only cost much money but a large crew was also necessary for this. The Dutch rightly doubted a little whether in view of the miserable situation in Goa both these could be gathered.

In the town (Goa) the mutual altercations continued in full vehemence. A third part of Goa lay in ruins because of depopulation. Whole streets were uninhabitable. Infectious diseases produced many victims. Brigandage and murder continued unpunished. Nobody was safer on the streets. One of the Portuguese magnates who wished to return to Portugal with his entire family plundered the king's warehouses empty for fitting up a ship bought

by him. This again gave occasion for new quarrels between the Portuguese officials. In large numbers the unpaid Portuguese soldiers went over to the natives for carrying on ten times as much trade as in the Company's service.

It was an annoyance for the Dutch that the small vessels still continually succeeded in coming inside Goa. For this purpose in particular they obtained the so-called thousand-boned long flat bottomed rowing vesels about 6 feet broad and 50 feet long manned with 30 rowers. The Dutch saw no chance of overtaking these vessels which could sail very close along the coast where even the Company's smallest ships could not reach them.

In 1661 the Portuguese again sought to intrigue at the Ceylonese court and in Bijapur against their Dutch enemies, but with even less success than in the preceding years. More than money, people and concord, the Dutch enemies mattered to them.

Meanwhile Van der Meyden departed from the Coast without yet accomplishing anything important.

The deepest cause of the failure of this unsuccessful expedition was the shortage in the Company's ships and personnel in consequence of which the United East India Company had not at the same time sufficient ships available for their various enterprises and the fleet sailed out much too late. The time for undertaking anything was therefore too little. The state of affairs had only become rather worse than better, the enemy in higher spirits and more alarmed than damaged. Besides, it was evident how little they could rely on the Malabarees. Only by making their appearance with a larger military force could they bring the princes to the conclusion of a contract. Those princes were looking forward only to be liberated by the Dutch from the Portuguese. But they speedily perceived that they would fare much worse with the Dutch as these asked for an absolute trade monopoly for themselves while the Portuguese had, for the most part, given a free hand to the Indian ships. And the Dutch strove for even more than a trade monopoly. This was the experience which the Raja Singa of Ceylon had with them. Had he not lost the mastery over the greatest portion of his island?

Van Goens must have received the Governor of Ceylon with little friendliness on the return of the latter to the island. The very strained relations between the two men had not become

better. But, as Van der Meyden himself deplored in his communication to the Governor-General and Council, Van Goens had been in a much better position with respect to Cochin in 1658-1659 and he (Van der Meyden) had not the benefit of a captured Quilon. Van der Meyden himself does not raise the question of Van Goens' unsuccessful expedition of the spring of 1660. But he observes "It is nevertheless true that the Commissaries (Van Goens) was in many things too caustic and does him (Van der Meyden) no justice". He says this because of his bitterness about his troublesome chief.

The Lords Seventeen, with their eyes directed on the calculation of the expenses of the expedition, showed themselves likewise very much disappointed over the meagre result. Van der Meyden advised his superiors first to capture Quilon in the following season and certainly not to begin with the risk involved in the attack on Cochin—this in contrast to Van Goens who considered the capture of Cochin more than anything else most necessary. Justly Van der Meyden pointed out the great danger that Ceylon would be involved in as a result of the possible failure of the enterprise against Cochin. For a capture of Quilon, Van der Meyden again offered his good services. For that he developed a plan which reminded one very much of his first proposals. It was necessary that captured Quilon should be fortified better than at the first time. Co-operation with the fleet in front of Goa was certainly required. Van der Meyden was convinced that the Zamorin would permit the Dutch to trade in his land.

Van Goens, although he wished to give precedence to the occupation of Cochin according to his plan, saw, indeed the great importance of the capture and fortification of Quilon. Even after an eventual peace with Portugal, the Company could obtain their rights on this place secured by their contract with the Signati. How useful would the possession of Quilon not be for keeping the Zamorin to the Dutch side? We could serve him better than to be a bully against enemies of Cochin."? Therefore a large military force must be left in Ceylon for being used for an expedition against that fortress (Quilon) in the following season.

Van Goens declared himself strongly against the handing over of the fortresses to the princes of Malabar as the High Government wished on the grounds that they did not wish to arouse the

hatred and opposition of the native population, but especially out of considerations of economy, concern about the expenses of the garrison, and the fear that military forces present in the Indies would be too much weakened. Van Goens rightly showed that if the fortresses were handed over to the Malabarees, these would immediately fall back into the hands of the Portuguese or worse still into those of the English rivals. And would the princes perform, without compulsion of weapons, the contracts which the United East India Company had concluded with them? This was surely very much an all too naive current of thought. As soon as the Dutch had turned their backs, their monopoly would also be over.

Van Goens tried to convince his superiors of his judgment in this matter. They but reluctantly wished to fall in with the proposal. In letter after letter they continued insisting that the expenses of occupation should be as small as possible. And it was only the necessity of the security of Ceylon and the false hope of extraordinary pepper stocks which Van Goens held out to the thrifty masters in the Netherlands that made them somewhat inclined at least to continue occupying Cochin after capture and send the ships, men and money necessary for that on condition, however, that the expenditure must be covered by the income. The Lords Seventeen, now that their dominion itself had so mightily expanded and they became short of ships to avail themselves of the entire trade, would throw open a portion of this for the natives. They hoped that thereby the hatred and aversion which the establishment of the trade monopoly had brought about everywhere would be reduced a little.

A venture devised by Van Goens in very great secret during the rainy season of the Malabar Coast against the Portuguese fortress of San Thome in Coromandel failed as the town fell into the hands of the King of Golconda who placed the place under his protection.

All these important commissions made it still impossible for Van Goens to take his seat in the Council of India which was conferred on him by the Lords Seventeen, "being a proof that Your Lordships have been pleased to show some pleasure in my services." The High Government seems to have been less satisfied "than indeed (I) had hoped and expected, yet I have a little consolation, thank God, because with a good conscience I can

consider myself innocent". Opposition manifested itself every moment between Batavia and Van Goens. On these occasions he felt himself backed by the Directors who in the distant fatherland did not subject his actions to a similar control as the High Government in Batavia—a control which was intolerable for Van Goens. "It is surely under Your Lordships' correction," writes he to the Seventeen, "no small commission that was entrusted to me. So I have found the way I had to walk through sorrowful, thorny, and slippery and in many places deviating from the right aim. Accordingly it is not strange if I have as a man somewhere stumbled. The Governor-General and Council ought to be pleased that he has fulfilled his commission so well, but he consoles that the displeasure that their Lordships have been pleased to take is much more because he has been stern rather than soft." He would comply with his master's wishes and instead of going to meet a well-earned rest again betake himself to hard work. And to this the believing Van Goens adds "Praying God that He would be pleased to grant wisdom, energy and particularly His merciful blessing for the execution of their lordship's wise orders."

Was the Great Revolt of 1857 a Fight for National Freedom ?

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The Revolt of 1857 is a most momentous, if tragic, event in the history of modern India. It has been looked at and described in various ways. English historians have called it a Sepoy Mutiny, while Indians would love to regard it as the First War of Indian Independence. A large quantity of historical literature has gathered round the Great Revolt. But, practically all of it has been written from the British point of view. There is little or no account available from the defeated side, which could clear up the objects and motives of the rebels. There is, therefore, a lot of speculation about the nature and significance of the Movement.

The Revolt has been viewed from different points of view. *Firstly,* it was a mutiny of the Company's sepoys, pure and simple. The sepoys were discontented on account of various reasons among which the alleged supply of greased cartridges was the principal one. *Secondly,* the Revolt marked a struggle between the civilization of the West and that of India. It has been suggested that the fast-approaching tide of the Western civilization caused a great alarm in the minds of the conservative sections, and made them combine against the British rule. *Thirdly,* the Revolt reflected the discontent of the expropriated feudal classes whose powers and privileges had been lately assailed by the British. *Fourthly,* the Great Revolt was viewed as a secret Muslim conspiracy to oust the British from India and restore the old Muslim sway. It has been asserted that the Mughal Court stirred up the Mutiny for selfish political reasons. This movement is also said to have been encouraged by the representatives of the dispossessed house of the Avadh monarchy. *Lastly,* the Indian Revolt has been regarded as

the first Indian War of Independence. These different viewpoints amply indicate that the Mutiny was not a simple movement but a complex one. It would be a mistake to treat it as a disconnected and sudden explosion.

The Revolt of 1857 symbolises a new political awakening in the land. This awakening was also cultural, even though the sepoys were one of its chief spearheads. The fact is that the impact of Western civilization had roused the average Indian from his usual self-complacency, and the attacks on religious beliefs and institutions coming from the Christian missionaries had convinced many people that unless India was freed from the British rule indigenous culture could not be rendered safe and secure. Thus the revolt was ultimately and essentially a struggle between the past and the present, between the old and the new, and between the devout and the heretical. The onslaughts of Christianity and the Western forms and methods of administration roused the orthodox and the conservative. But this discontent would not have taken the shape of a widespread revolt, if the yearning for freedom had not stood out as the outward emblem of the decaying old political order of India. *"Dharma"* or *"Din"* was the slogan which powerfully appealed to all sections who were disaffected against the foreign rule. The outward expressions of this feeling varied in different regions according to local political, and economic conditions, but this was the same motive force which had brought to the West the new spirit of patriotism.

Confronted by the threat of being swallowed up by an alien culture and rule, the soul of the people, roused to a sense of danger, rebelled against the national menace. Religion and politics became mixed up in 1857 in a manner in which it cannot do so in any country other than India, for the people were by nature and instinct intensely religious and puritanical.

The real significance of the Mutiny lies, therefore, in an ideological conflict which took the shape of a patriotic outburst against foreign rule. But this struggle should not be interpreted in terms of a racial rising. If we view the matter dispassionately, we shall find that comparatively little race feeling was visible on the rebel side during the Mutiny. The rebels, however, precipitated the struggle because there was a widespread feeling against the Britishers as rulers. There was, however, no racial hatred. This is clear from repeated cases of assistance and loyalty to the British, which

were solely actuated by a feeling of pure liberality or of personal likes and dislikes. There is no doubt that the Mughal family at Delhi bitterly resented their lowly position under the Company's rule. Nana Saheb of Bithur likewise resented the stoppage of his pension. The protagonists of the Avadh monarchy were mostly disaffected on account of the unceremonious annexation of the country. The Rani of Jhansi nursed a grievance because her adopted son was deprived of his royal status. The Taluqdars of Avadh were hostile because their rights in the land had been attacked and curtailed. Other feudal chiefs had some grievance or the other. But how is it that such discordant elements managed to combine against the mighty British Empire? Could individual rancour and prejudice have led to countrywide revolt? The Revolt of 1857 was scarcely a revolt of disgruntled elements alone, as foreign writers are wont to hold. It is true that the outbreak was not a revolution of the Western type and it certainly lacked some of the known features which characterised the revolutionary movements of Europe or America. Still, it marks a real national upsurge for the first time in modern India. This upsurge was erratic, even isolated, sporadic and unforeseen. This does not detract from the great significance of this upsurge. No revolutionary movement on a large scale can take place only because the leaders are disgruntled. A widespread conflagration cannot be artificially engineered by self-seekers and manipulators. Such people certainly will exploit the situation favourable to them, but they themselves cannot create the situation itself. If a national consciousness had not appeared in a vague form, the disgruntled leaders would not have been able to create a vast insurrectionary movement.

It is the arrogant and imperialist self-assertion of the Britisher which produced a countrywide discontent. People felt that under a foreign rule their *"Dharma"* could not be maintained, and so they desired that this foreign rule must be uprooted in the interests of *"Dharma"*. The feeling was not one of pure political patriotism but of socio-religious nationalism. The cartridge affair may have hastened the outbreak but was not its cause. The very fact that the insurrection was not organised shows that it was a vague sense of political discontent which caused it. Every party, including the sepoys, took a leap in the dark, conscious only of the fact that they wanted to destroy the British rule. The rebels did not have a precise idea of the use they would make of the leap they had taken, but they seem to have been agreed on the point that the rebellion

was really welcome in many regions of Northern India. Essentially in the nature of a military outburst in various cantonment towns, the revolt assumed in many places, specially in Uttar Pradesh, the character of a popular rebellion of the country already disaffected by foreign conquest and British innovation. The first outbreak of the Revolt was necessarily in the more combustible quarters of the Bengal Army, but this need not make us regard it as a mere military movement.

There are certain things which demand a careful consideration. *Firstly,* how is it that both Hindus and Muslims joined together against a common foe unless it may be that a common patriotic sentiment inspired them all? Hindu-Muslim unity during the Mutiny is a really memorable phenomenon which has so far been completely ignored by European historians. In their common fight against the British the two communities fought shoulder to shoulder. It is a highly significant fact that cow-killing was completely stopped in Delhi during the Mutiny. Bahadur Shah's Chief Secretary during the brief period of his restoration was a Hindu, Mukand Ram, just as Nana Saheb's Chief Advisor was a Muslim, Azimullah. In Avadh both Hindu and Muslim Taluqdars and peasants fought for the cause of their dethroned King. The Taluqdar Beni Madho, when he realised that he could not hold his fort, surrendered it, but did not surrender personally on the ground that he himself belonged to the King. This feeling of unity is a symptom which cannot be explained away except in terms of political nationalism.

Secondly, the great sacrifices which the rebels cheerfully made have not been fully assessed so far. Hundreds and thousands lost their all and gave up their lives. Was it because some political adventurers misled them? The selfless spirit which is seen on a grand scale in different regions of India during the Mutiny is a proof of the fact that a vague feeling of patriotism must have been there.

Thirdly, if the rebels were inspired by the cultural ideology of *"Dharma"* or *"Din"*, this was the foundation on which Indian national awakening rested in the last century. In the West the foundation of nationalism was a cultural and economic sense of oneness. In India it was a different thing. As the country was under the economic exploitation of the British, the first stirring of

nationalism came in the religious sphere rather than in the economic.

Fourthly, how is it possible to explain that during the Mutiny different elements of society, high and low, baron and peasant, man and woman, and Brahmin and untouchable, all forgot their age-old differences and joined in a common cause? From contemporary sources plenty of evidence is available to show that a remarkable social brotherhood was seen at first in a number of centres. This sense of social brotherhood must be interpreted in terms of political nationalism; otherwise this would be both strange and unintelligible.

Fifthly, the fact has not been explained by the English historians as to why village after village in parts of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh shook off the British rule and declared independence. In many places the whole countryside was in open revolt. In some areas of the Doab even criminals and dacoits are known to have joined in the common rising against the British. In many places the houses and properties of those who were loyal to the British were attacked and plundered. The lives of the Indian subordinates of the Company were in danger in the midst of the mob fury which broke out in many parts. These facts which have not received the attention they deserve, lead us to think that a new-born feeling of patriotism must have been the cause of these.

Lastly, why was not the Mutiny a localised affair? Why did it become widespread in different regions of India? Even though there was no well-thought-out plan or any pre-conceived scheme on a fully national scale the insurrection occurred simultaneously at many places of the country. It was certainly not chance or accident which made it widespread, but the popular feeling that the foreign rule must be resisted. Had there not been a common feeling against foreign imperialism, the outbreak could not have been countrywide. It would have remained a local affair as in the previous cases of the Vellore Mutiny and the Barrackpore Mutiny.

The Revolt had its ups and downs, no less than temporary setbacks and ultimate failure. Incidents occurred at different places which only showed political immaturity or military short-sightedness on the part of the rebels. Misunderstandings soon appeared, when failure stared them in the face and setbacks and frustrations caused demoralisation, rivalry, and bickerings. Lack

of careful planning and efficient organisation on a national scale weakened the movement. Their divided leadership was a standing source of weakness and it could not control the mob violence which the Revolt necessarily produced. The patriotic and revolutionary urge could not be canalised in the face of helpless violence which came in the wake of the Mutiny. The vague sense of discontent which had gripped the masses and classes alike could not become all-pervasive for want of unity and control. The dispossessed and disgruntled groups of leaders who had suffered from British rule were there, but they failed to produce a leader of the character of a George Washington. The feudal or semi-feudal leadership which controlled the revolt was at best an indifferent leadership, looking in contrary directions at one time, and lacking in high military skill and diplomatic finesse. While resources were lacking mere plunder could not provide the means with which the war of liberation could be managed. Princely allies were not forthcoming and rebel peasants and barons both were ill-led and ill-provided. The Company with its vast resources, military and economic, was able before long to stamp out the revolt in all parts of India. The Revolt ended almost as quickly and abruptly as it had come. The feudal classes who led the fight against the British could not throw up a brilliant high command. At Delhi there was scarcely any leadership. Bahadur Shah himself was more a poet, musician and artist than a political leader. He was too old to formulate a scheme of rebellion of his own. Zinat Mahal, the ambitious Mughal queen, was more a schemer than a leader. The leaders whom the revolt threw up elsewhere were scattered and weak. Of them a few can be named : Nana Saheb, Azimullah, Lakshmi Bai, Tantia Tope, Vakt Khan Rohilla, Kunwar Singh, Amar Singh, Beni Madho, Maulvi Ahmad-ullah, and Hazrat Mahal. They all figured in different areas, without any concerted plan. There was no organisation and little or no means of communication among themselves. That they failed against the mighty British Empire in the end need cause no surprise.

The attempt of feudal India to throw off the foreign yoke failed not because it was not national or patriotic, but because it could not become fully democratic and well-organised. As such, the Indian Revolt of 1857 abounds in lessons and warnings. A war of national liberation against a powerful foreign State cannot succeed unless and until the masses are fully awakened and efficiently organised and led.

A Note on the Sittannavasal and Kudumiyamalai Monuments

BY

K. R. VENKATA RAMAN.

The southernmost place in the provenance of the inscriptions of Pallava Mahēndravarman I (A.D. 600-30) is Tiruchirapalli. After his reign, until that of Nandivarman II—(733-96) Pallava inscriptions are conspicuously absent on the banks of the Kāvēri. The reference in the Śendalai pillar inscriptions and in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant to Koḍumbāḷūr and one or two other places in the former Pudukottai State, indicates that in the 8th century all these places were within the territory of the Pāṇḍyas. The earliest Pallava inscriptions within the Pudukottai territory belong to the reign of Dantivarman (754-845); there are a few others dated in the reigns of Nandivarman III (844-66) and Nripatuṅga (850-96). A line drawn from Rājāḷipaṭṭu to the north of Koḍumbāḷūr in the north-west of Pudukottai State to Kunnāṇḍārkōvil in the north-east would mark the southernmost limit of the provenance of Pallava inscriptions. This line is about 20 to 23 miles to the south of the Kāvēri, and none of the Pallava inscriptions on or near this line is earlier than the closing years of the eighth century or the beginning of the ninth. More than 15 miles to the south of this line and more than 35 miles to the south of the Kāvēri lies Śittannavāśal, and still farther away to the southwest is Kuḍumiyāmalai. These two places were never under Pallava rule, and this consideration alone will set at rest all suggestions that the monuments that have made them famous were the creations of Mahēndravarman I in the first half of the seventh century. The grounds usually set forth for this belief, though purely of academic interest may nevertheless be examined in some detail. It is often said that the Śittannavāśal rock-cut cave temple reproduces the architectural features of the 'Mahēndravarman' style of cave temples. Longhurst has shrewdly observed that further south of Kānchi and the country lying immediately round it, the so called Mahēndravarman style persisted much later, and *south of the Kāvēri, Pallava architecture was influenced by the neighbouring cultures of the*

Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas. Even as early as in 1916 J. Dubreuil wrote that *the southernmost Pallava monument is the cave of Kunnāṇḍārkōvil, the inscriptions in which indicate the last years of Pallava sovereignty.*[1] Mahēndravarman's inscription in the Maṇḍagapaṭṭu cave temple reads —

ētadaniṣṭakamadrumamalōhamasudham vicitracittēna /
nirmāpitannṛpēṇa brahmēśvara viṣṇu lakṣitāyatanam / /

('This temple, in the construction of which neither brick, nor timber, nor metal, nor mortar has been used, has been caused to be erected by the King Vicitracitta to serve as the abode of Brahmā Īśvara, and Viṣṇu.')

This inscription apparently lays stress on the word *ētad* (this) signifying that *this* cave temple at Maṇḍagapaṭṭu was the first one ever scooped out of the rock in the Tamil country; and it was dedicated to the Ṭrimūrtis. It is not odd to say that Vicitracitta (the 'inventive-minded' king) had earlier erected a cave temple for the Jain Tīrthaṅkaras in Śittannavāśal, a place beyond the frontiers of his realm?

An inscription in Tamil verse just to the south of the facade of the Śittannavāśal cave-temple, which K. R. Srinivasan has commented upon,[2] clearly says that in the reign of the Pāṇḍya King Śrīmāra Śrīvallabha also called Avanīpaśēkhara (815-62) a Jain Ācārya named Iḷan Gautaman, also called Madurai Āśiriyan (the Ācārya from Madurai) renovated and embellished the *ardhamaṇtapam* and added a *mukhamantapam.* Srinivasan points out, among other things, the variations in the linear dimensions of the floor and ceiling, the unequal excavations in the back wall of the verandah, variations in the projecting niches and the differences between the architectural features of the pilasters and corbels of the niches and those of the facade. ..Originally perhaps a rectangular cell with bas-reliefs and an unfinished verandah in front, similar to some other crude cave temples in this part of South India, this temple was renovated and given its present shape in the ninth century.

About fifteen years ago, while cleaning the paintings, S. Paramasivan and Srinivasan noticed a patch of old painting representing conventional carpet designs, over which the new layer of

1. Italics mine.
2. See *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*—Madras, 1944,

painting had been superimposed by Madurai Āśiriyan's painters. In the rest of the area within the cell and all over the ceiling, pillars, corbels and beams the renovator painted the *samavasaraṇa* heaven, the lotus pond, the flowers and animals, the *bhavyas*, the dancing women and what appears to be a royal group, over a ground of plaster *directly* laid over the *bare* rock surface. The painting that we see and admire today belongs to the 9th century.[3]

Now to Kuḍumiyāmalai. One hundred and twenty inscriptions have been copied from the walls of the temple here, and they relate to all the dynasties that ruled this part of the country, but not one of them relates to the Pallavas. The two earliest records[4] are inscribed in the cave temple, called in the inscriptions Tirumēṟṟaḷi or Melaikōvil, and are dated in the reigns of the Pāṇḍya kings, Śaḍaiyan Māṟan (Māṟavarman Rājasimha (730-65) and Mārañjaḍaiyan (Jaṭila Parāntaka Varaguṇa (765-815).

The pillars of this cave temple have bulbous capitals resting upon square bases, and the corbels are flattened though provided with roll ornaments with a median band; this style is absolutely different from the 'Mahēndravarman' style. The sculptures include

3. The following extracts will be read with interest. 'The painting in the Śittannavāśal Jain cave, formerly ascribed to the early seventh century (the reign of Pallava Mahēndravarman), are now seen to be much later and to furnish a connecting link between Ajanta and the Tanjore paintings of the Chola period'—(K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *History of India*, Part I, Page, 164). 'The *ardhamaṇṭapam* of the Śiṟṟannavāyil (Śittannavāśal) cave-temple was renovated during the reign of Avanīpaśēkhara Pāṇḍya Śrī Vallabha (830-62) and a *mukhamantapam* was added to it. The entire cave structure must have been painted at the time of the renovation. Inscriptions of the reign of Śrī Vallabha occur in Tirumalaipuram near Kadayanallūr in the Tirunelveli district, and the painting here must be contemporaneous with that in Siṟṟannavāyil. To this epoch may be assigned the painting in the cave temple at Tirunandikarai in the extreme south of the Tamil country. No careful observer will fail to be struck by the resemblance between the figure of Śiva, painted in this temple, and that of the 'royal personage' on the Śiṟṟannavāyil pillar and that of Avalōkitēśvara at Ajanta.' (M. S. Ramaswami: Article in *Ōviyam (Paintings)* in *Kalaikkalañjiyam* (*Tamil Encyclopedia*) Vol. II, pp. 743-4—[Translated from the Tamil.])

4. *P.S.I*: 238 and 240: The name of the donor in the second record—Parāntaka Adalaiyūr Nādaḷvān helps us to identify the king as Jatila Parāntaka. This administrator of the nāḍu must have taken the name of his sovereign according to the custom then prevailing.

a Valamburi Gaṇēśa and a Sōmāskanda group. Though the Sōmāskanda group first made its appearance in the reign of Pallava Narasimha Varman I Māmalla (630-68), it became prevalent as a characteristic feature of temples built during the reign of Narasimha Varman II Rājasimha (680-720). Rājasimha's Sōmāskanda group was chiselled in bas-relief on the back wall behind the *liṅgam,* but in the Kuḍumiyāmalai *mēṟṟaḷi* it is sculptured in the round and is loose standing. The *liṅgam* here is not prismatic as in Rājasimha's temples. The costumes and ornamentation also disclose considerable deviation from the Rājasimha epoch.

The inscriptions of the 8th century referred to above mention two shrines, the *Tirumūlattānam* and the *Tirumēṟṟaḷi.* The first was a structural *vimāna,* and was as its name implies, the principal shrine while the second was the rock-cut shrine in the west. The *mūlattānam* originally built in the 8th century has since been renovated many times over by successive dynasties, and in the *prākāram* are now assembled sculptures of the different epochs. Everything points to the conclusion that the *mēṟṟaḷi* also was erected in the 8th century.

Just to the south of the *mēṟṟaḷi,* on the rock face, is a marvellous inscription which is a long exposition of music. One would obviously conclude that the inscription was contemporaneous with the cave temple.[5] It is really surprising that scholars should attribute its authorship to Mahēndravarman I on the strength of the occurrence of the name—Guṇasēna (which they fancy was another form of Guṇabhara, a surname of Mahēndravarman) *not in this inscription but in similar ones at Tirumeyyam and Malayaḍipaṭṭi,* both to the south of this place.

On the top to the right is a label which reads *parivādinīe*: Parivādinī is an old kind of vīṇā with seven strings. The music

5. It is unfortunate that the palaeography of the inscription has not been carefully studied. The text proper is in the *Grantha script* that was used in contemporary Pallava inscriptions and Pāndya records (the Velvikkuḍi and Museum grants). There were two forms of this script in Mahēndravarman's time and four in Rajasimha's. Dubreuil points out that 'a difference in the stage of evolution of the letters does not at all indicate a difference in the ages' and that Rājasimha in the 8th century borrowed an alphabet (that of the first half of the 7th century) that at his time was already archaic,

of the inscription was obviously meant to be played on the *parivādinī*. The text begins with the invocation *siddham namaḥ śivāya*, and runs into seven sections, each arranged in sub-sections of sixteen sets of four *svaras*, each under an appropriate heading. The colophon reads *śrī rudrācārya śiṣyēna parama māhēśvarēṇa rajñā śiṣyahitārtham kṛtāḥ svarāgamāḥ* ('composed for the benefit of learners by the king, a staunch (Māhēśvara and a disciple of Rudrācārya'). Below is a note in Tamil—*eṭṭirṟkum, ēḻirkum ivai uriya.*

Is this Paramamāhēśvara, Mahēndravarman I? There is not a single inscription definitely ascribable to Mahēndravarman that does not contain one or more of his numerous surnames in Sanskrit, Tamil or Telugu, and not a work of his that is not presented with a flamboyant string of epithets. One would expect a work of the nature of this unique musical composition, if only Mahēndravarman had composed it, to be heralded in high-sounding verses full of self-adulation.[6] Nor on the other hand, do we find in any of his inscriptions or in his play *Mattavilāsa* the invocation *siddham namaḥ śivāya.* From this period till late Cōḷa times Pāśupatas and Kāḷāmukhas chiefly constituted the class of Māhēśvaras, and they followed a gruesome form of *vāmācāra.* In his *Mattavilāsa* Mahēndravarman holds among other sects, the Mahēśvaras and the Mahāvratins to ridicule as a degenerate crowd addicted to drunken revelry in the company of women. It is obvious that Mahēndravarman, who pours so much invective upon the Mahēśvaras, will not call himself a *parama Māhēśvara.* In the temples that he built he enshrined not only Śiva but also Viṣṇu and Brahmā. It is a grave error to describe one Pallava king as exclusively a Śaiva (much less a Māhēśvara) and another a Vaiṣṇava; they honoured all forms of God-head.

Kuḍumiyāmalai was included in the old territorial division of Kōnāḍu, the capital of which was Koḍumbāḷūr, which was an important seat of the Pāśupata—Kālāmukha cult; one of its rulers was a canonised Śaiva saint, while another—a later one, Vikramakēsari, endowed a *maṭha* for his Kālāmukha preceptor and provided for the daily feeding of the latter's disciples. One may not

6. *E.G:* the royal style of Mahēndravarman put into the mouth of the *Sūtradhāra* in his play *Mattavilāsa,* and his surnames cleverly woven into the *maṅgala ślōka,* the *Bharata vākya* and in the speeches of the Naṭī.

be wrong in thinking that the king who calls himself a paramamāhēśvara may have belonged to the distinguished line of Irukkuvēḷs[7] of Koḍumbāḷūr.

There was an inscription on the rock face of the Śiva cave-temple at Tirumeyyam, the text of which was wiped out in A.D. 1245 as some unintelligible matter in an unknown script, by an ignorant scribe, who recorded over it the award of a tribunal presided over by a Hoysala general. A few expressions, such as *Ṛṣabham, Gādhāram, Pañcamam, Duritam, Niṣādam* and *Madhyamam* and some lines of the note in Tamil below can still be deciphered. There must have been another inscription, similar to this, on the rock face of the cave-temple at Malayakkōvil, to the west of Tirumeyyam which again was later obliterated. The label *Parivādinī-e* and a few lines of the note in Tamil are all that remain. While in the Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription it is stated that the composer was a *parama māhēśvara rājā*, these two compositions are said to be based on the authority of Guṇasēna—*Guṇasēna pramāṇam śeyda vidyā;* Guṇasēna was by no means Guṇabhara; Tirumeyyam and Malayakkōvil are situated farther inside in Pāṇḍināḍ—far beyond the frontiers of Guṇabhara's territories. From the records of this epoch so far available it is clear that *Sēna, Nandi,* etc. were suffixes in the names of South Indian monks of the Digambara order of Jainism. It is quite probable that Guṇasēna was a Jain monk[8] who was also an adept in music.

One of Mahendravarman's surnames was *Saṅkīrṇajāti.* P. Sambamurthi of the Madras University does not accept Minakshi's rendering of *jāti* as *tāḷa,* and *saṅkīrṇajāti*[9] as a new kind of *tāḷa*

7. The *dvārapalakas* of the *mērrali* are two-armed and stand in an attitude of adoration, and while both wear *rudrākṣa* beads, only one wears the *yajñōpavīta.* They are portrait sculptures like many other *dvārapālakas* in the early temples of this region. The figure with the *yajñōpavīta* may represent Rudrācārya, and the other without it the king, his disciple.

8. There was no branch of learning and culture—literature, music, drama, painting, stucco etc., which the Jains did not cultivate. Their contribution to language and fine arts was incalculable. A celebrated monk bearing the name Guṇasēna (c. A.D. 700) presided over the famous monastery at Tirukāṭṭampaḷḷi at Kuṛandai in Vēmbanāḍ which comprised a large area to the south of the Southern Veḷḷār. Was this Gunasēna an adept in music also?

9. Writing under the belief that the Kuḍumiyāmalai composition was a work of Mahēndravarman, Minakshi (*Administration and Social Life under*

invented by this king. Quoting the authority of Bharata, he translated *jāti* as *rāga;* in fact, as he points but, *jāti* was formerly used wherever *rāga* was meant. The surname only signifies that Mahēndravarman was an expert in the exposition of *saṅkīrṇa rāga,* which means a mixed *rāga* wherein are traces of two or more *rāgas.* The Kuḍumiyāmalai text, as Sambamurthi points out, 'is the first record to mention the solfa names of the seven notes, *sa, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha* and *ni,* where the *śrutis* are designated by resorting to the vowel changes in the name of the note and reduced to a mnemonic system of absolute notation.' The Tirumeyyam music, though meant to be practised on the *parivādini,* would lend itself, as the Tamil note indicates, to the three branches of Gandharva vidyā 'as known in the world' viz., vocal, instrumental and dance music.

The period threw up some notable masters from all classes of the society. Among the rulers of Kānchi, Mahēndravarman I was *saṅkīrṇjāti,* and Rājasimha was *vādya-vidyādhara* and *vīṇā Nārada.* In Madurai Neḍuñjaḍaiyan was *gītikinnara.* In the Cōḷa country Pāṇan Nīlakaṇṭha and his wife Mātangacūḷāmaṇi set Saint Sambandar's soul-stirring *padigams* to *svara* and played them on the *yāḻ.* Tiruppāṇ Āḻvār's *yāḻ*[10] poured fourth a flood of devotional music as sanctifying as the floods of the Kāvērī on whose banks he

the Pallavas P. 256) has sought to connect it with Mahēndravarman's inscription in Māmaṇḍūr (*S.I.I.* IV. Page 12) which is very much damaged and now quite unintelligible. It contains such expressions as *Gandharva śāstra, Pāñcālanirmita, Valmīkivaṇita, Vatsāpahāra, Vyāsakalpa,* and *Kavīnāmprakāśa,* and mentions *Mattavilāsaprakarana, Bhagavadajjuka* and *Vrittidakṣiṇacitra.* Then there is mention of *varṇacaturthaka* claimed to be the first of its kind and pleasing alike for sweetness of voice and merit of composition. Lastly comes praise of queen Candralēkhā and the king. The Kuḍumiyāmalai composition marks a clear stage of advance over anything that the Māmandūr record would suggest. It now appears that *Bhagavadajjukā,* which was believed to have been written by Mahēndravarman, is the work of some other poet. 'Nothing definite can be said about the age of the work, though its author seems to be known. For one Bōdhāyana kavi is given as the name of the poet in two of the MSS, including the commentary, and I see no reason to doubt that this is the name of the poet, though in the prologue neither the author's name nor the title of the play is mentioned'—[M. Winternitz: *Preface* (Pp. VI & VII) to the *Bhagavadajjukīyam* (Palayam MSS edition—Jayantamangalam—Cochin].)

10. It will interest readers to know that there are two sculptural representations of this stringed instrument, one on the panel within the Viṣṇu cave-temple at Tirumeyyam and the other built into a wall in the Mahiṣamardinī temple at Kiḻḻukoṭṭai, both within the former Pudukottai State.

lived. The Māhēśvara monk Rudrācārya and his royal disciple, and Guṇasēna and his followers invented musical notations and recorded them.

This artistic impulse of this epoch may have proceeded from Kānchi, during the reign of Mahēndravarman I, but for its further achievements, credit goes to all the South Indian dynasties whose contributions built up a composite South Indian culture, which influenced India north of the Vindhyas and Farther India across the seas. In pursuing this fascinating line of research, no student could afford to miss a proper study of the contributions of the different kingdoms of the South, much less of the Pāṇḍyas and their vassals and artists.

Reviews

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY by Sri T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras; published by the University of Madras—Rs. 13/-.

This is a welcome addition to the South Indian Politico-historical Literature. South India's history has long been merged in the history of India and writers of Indian history, while dealing with the history of North-India elaborately, paid scanty attention to the History of India south of the Vindhyas; and noticed only the history of the Imperial Cholas and Pallavas, and that of Vijayanagar, as if these were the only ruling dynasties of the South worth mentioning.

The large number of inscriptions running up to thousands, noticed and published in their Annual Reports by the Department of Epigraphy have increased our knowledge of South Indian history. New dynasties both paramount and feudal, which played an important part in the history of the South have come to light and demand consideration on account of their political and cultural importance. Whereas the history of Northern India subsequent to the decline of the Guptas is mostly made up of the stories of several petty Hindu kingdoms which fell like houses of cards at the first onset of Muslim invaders, large empires bigger than the biggest in North flourished in the South, and struggled hard to maintain Hindu independence and culture until the middle of the 14th Century; and that part of South India especially south of the Tungabhadra was successful in warding off Muslim invasions and maintaining and fostering the Hindu political, religious and cultural institutions till the middle of the 17th century, till almost up to the rise of the Mahrattas. South India is sill the repository of the Hindu culture, and the mainstay of the Hindu social and religious institutions. Therefore, the importance of South India cannot be underrated. To understand clearly how the various Hindu institutions came into being developed and worked during the course of ages a careful investigation of the inscriptions left behind by the ruling dynasties as well as the literatures of the local lan-

guages is absolutely indispensable. No work of any importance had been done in the field until recently. Even a general Political History had remained for a long time a desideratum, until Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri took up the task and produced his monumental history of South India which paved the way for the compilation of the history of the South Indian Hindu institutions. Following in the footsteps of Prof. Sastri, Dr. Mahalingam had worked hard on the South Indian Polity and produced the work which is now under consideration. Both Dr. Mahalingam and the University of Madras have to be congratulated, the former for his notable achievement and the latter for this important publication.

The book under review contains eight chapters, viz., (1) Introductory, (2) Kingship, (3) Imperial Council and Secretariat, (4) Income and Expenditure, (5) Law, Justice and Police, (6) Military Organisation: Warfare and Diplomacy, (7) Provincial Government; and (8) Local Government. Each of the chapters contains many sections, the second and the sixth having eleven and eight respectively. The division of each chapter under various sections is well-affected, though the material for writing in most cases is scanty. The author, however, presses into service and makes effective use of the literary sources whenever the other kind of material fails to furnish the required information.

South India, as pointed out above, was the home of several large ruling dynasties as well as petty states the duration of whose rule ranged from two, three or even four centuries to the fraction of a century. The existing Sanskrit and the vernacular literatures of South India are the results of the patronage extended by them to scholars and poets; and the innumerable inscriptions belonging to these dynasties speak generally of their acts of religious merit as well as the secular transactions that had taken place during their rule. Thus the material at our disposal both literary, epigraphical and numismatic pertaining to South India is abundant and one has to study it patiently with discernment to produce a work of the sort to which Dr. Mahalingam had addressed himself. Dr. Mahalingam has proved himself equal to the task. His intimate acquaintance with South Indian Epigraphy, and his deep knowledge of Sanskrit and the Vernacular languages have enabled him to compare the political, social and cultural institutions of the different South Indian kingdoms, and describe how they worked

in practice in their different environments. Though his exposition of the subject is generally lucid and excellent, his conclusions on certain matters are open to doubt and leave room for difference of opinion. This is mainly due to Dr. Mahalingam's failure to make sufficient allowance for local variations. A scrutinising study of the available material, especially epigraphical, reveals regional and local variations in administrative details and methods in the working of the Government, though the fundamentals of polity are the same through the length and breadth of India.

To take an instance in the Chapter on Local Government Dr. Mahalingam discusses the different types of administrative institutions "that played a large part in the organization and conduct of the affairs of local areas", prominent among them being ūr, Sabha and nādu. Since village has been from times immemorial, the unit of Indian Polity it would have been better if he had prefaced the discussion with a brief account of the formation of the different types of villages and the different tenures that were obtaining in them in different ages in various parts of South India. It is true that he refers to the gana-bhogam tenure of the Brahmadeya villages in p. 360. But gana-bhogam tenure was a later development in the Vijayanagar period in which the shares of the lands of the members of the Brahmadeya village were not allowed to be sold to outsiders other than the members themselves. Dr. Mahalingam says in this context that the Brahmadeya villages cannot be assumed to have been entirely and exclusively peopled by Brahmans. Originally these were exclusively Brahman villages and when the grant of such a village was made it was the custom for the King to grant gramatikas or pundits also, for the habitation of ryots who tilled the lands of the village. Later on, this custom was discarded. Even in ordinary villages there were separate quarters for the habitation of the four castes, the Brahman quarter being separate from others. The administration of the Brahmadeya village or an agrahara was different from a non-agrahara or non-brahmadeya village. Sabha was the administrative organisation that managed the affairs of an agrahara or a Brahmadeya village; Ūr was different from Sabha and was the assembly of villages other than agraharas or Brahmadeyas. Nādu, Nagaram, etc., were social, and commercial assemblies and not political organisations.

The several instances we know of the Dharmasana from literature and inscriptions give us to understand that there were different types of it, some constituted by the king and others independent of any administrative authority. But in either case the Dharmasana was never presided over by a king as stated by the author on p. 206. We have ample epigraphical material to trace the growth of the police organisation particularly from the Vijayanagar period. There were two parallel police organisations in the country, one belonging to the temple and the other to the state. Even in the police organisation belonging to the state, there were two different kinds, one the *achchu kaval* and the other the ordinary *Kaval*. The account describing police organisation is very meagre and it would have been immensely useful if it had been more elaborate. These are however minor defects, and they do not in any way minimise the worth of this valuable contribution.

Indeed, Dr. Mahalingam deserves praise, for the skill which he has shown throughout the work in dealing with the subject. The difficulties which he has to surmount are numerous. Taking into consideration the long duration of fifteen centuries, the vast extent of territory extending almost from the Vindhyas to the Cape Comorin, and the multiplicity of the states contained therein, this pioneer work of Dr. Mahalingam must be considered a remarkable achievement. It is needless to state that he has placed all the students of Indian institutional history under a deep debt of gratitude.

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA

JESUIT LETTERS AND INDIAN HISTORY: A study of the Nature and Development of the Jesuit Letters from India (1542-1773) and of Their Value for Indian Historiography by John Correia-Afonso, S.J. (Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay) 1955. Pages XXV—193. Rs. 7-8-0).

Among the original sources for the history of India under Moghul Emperors from Akbar onwards, the testimony of Jesuit Missionaries who visited India from about 1580 is very important. Their authors were as a rule well educated persons and many of them well acquainted with the languages and customs of India,

like De Nobili, Beschi, Jerome Xavier and others. Their works were highly popular and printed in most of the principal languages in the seventeenth century. They were overlooked or forgotten by most English writers during the eighteenth and the greater part of succeeding century. Almost the first modern writer to make use of Jesuit testimony was Count Von Noer whose German biography of Akbar was published in 1880 and was subsequently translated into English by Annette Beveridge. A fairly full bibliography of Jesuit accounts is available in the works of Sommervogel and other modern Jesuit writers. The Rev. H. Hosten, Sir Edward Maclagan, V. A. Smith and C. H. Payne have contributed largely to our knowledge. But none of these historians has given us a detailed study of the Jesuit letters. Smith and Payne concerned themselves chiefly with secondary sources like the Jesuit histories, while Maclagan's object was merely 'to give in outline an account of the Jesuit connection with the Moghul Empire.' Fr. Hosten's achievement was to make available to historians historical materials from the vast treasure-house of Jesuit documents. He published a number of Jesuit letters and some English essays on related topics but confined himself solely to Northern India.

The book under review which is the outcome of a thesis submitted by John Correia Afonso to the University of Bombay for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, aims at a critical evaluation of the Jesuit letters from the historian's point of view, with reference to their nature, range and present whereabouts. He estimates their historical value at a high level of accuracy and truthfulness and maintains that 'the Jesuit letters are "Contemporary Sources" standing in chronological nearness to the events they deal with. They contain in many instances the reports of eye-witnesses of the events described, and even of the participants in them, and are thus also "Primary sources." Hence, they have about them a vividness and realism of their own, which is hard to rival' (73).

The book contains, besides an introduction, fourteen chapters. The introductory chapter examines some of the more important developments in the method of writing history which has undergone a profound change from the time Von Ranke stepped into the scene, insisted largely on the study of original documents and laid stress on political history; inclination towards social history and a quest for details that enliven the narrative form the main features of the best historical production of the present day. In the succeed-

ing chapters, the author has dealt with the nature, development and types of the Jesuit letters in general. Chapter VII to IX are devoted to an examination of the value of these Jesuit letters to the problems of Indian History. 'The character of the Jesuit missionaries, their talents and training, their contacts with the great and the lowly in Indian Society, their sense of responsibility—these are some of the factors which lead one to attribute a high degree of accuracy and veracity to the Jesuit letters from India' (160). The eleventh chapter gives an exhaustive account of the nature of the existing Jesuit Histories. About them Maclagan says the following: 'These histories were written by learned Jesuits in Europe who had access to first hand authorities and they were compiled with considerable skill and fidelity' (p. 111).

There are four appendices: viz., an index to John Lockman's Travels of the Jesuits (two volumes); the Chief Contributions by Father H. Hosten, S. J., to the History of the Jesuit in India; Archives of Special interest in connection with Jesuit letters and Indian History; and a tentative list of the principal editions of the Jesuit letters from India (1542-1773). There is an exhaustive bibliography and a good index which go to make up the excellence of the volume. The book is a worthy contribution to our knowledge of Modern Indian History.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE MILITARY SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA by Bimal Kanti Majumdar, M.A., D.Phil. The World Press Ltd., Calcutta, 1955. Pages 206. Price Rs. 10/- only.

In spite of the fact that there are in the field some important works (notably those of Dr. P. C. Chakravarti, G. T. Date, H. C. Ray and V. R. R. Dikshithar) on the art and science of War in Ancient India, Mr. B. K. Majumdar, author of the volume under review, has to be congratulated for his attempt to place before students of Indian History a connected account of the Indian military traditions from the earliest times down to the conquest of Hindustan by the Turks, and for the industry and skill with which he has marshalled his data collected from various sources, chiefly literature and inscriptions. The author explains the novelty of his work in the preface in the following words; 'My treatment of the subject is somewhat different. It is chronological, period by period, empire by

empire with an eye to describing the military organisation in the political background, for, a sound defence organisation is often an aid to political expansion, and political expansion is a recurring phenomenon in Ancient Indian History.'

Besides an introduction which describes the scope and the main sources of the subject, the book is divided into nine chapters. The first four chapters deal with the evolution and growth of military tradition in Ancient India from the Vedic Age to the Fall of the Gupta Empire. Chapter VI explains the main characteristics of the military administration of the Imperial Kanuaj Empire (600-650 A.D.). The observations of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang on the Indian army in the first half of the seventh century are well explained in this chapter. The next two chapters describe the army organisation of the Rajaput chiefs, and the Pālas. In the last chapter, the author has examined the various causes for the break down of the Hindu Military system. 'Mass indifference, internal decay, deterioration in the method of warfare and superior military abilities of the Turks coming from cooler regions with a fund of redoubtable energy and flashing promptitude were the four important factors which contributed to the collapse of the Hindus' (193). A good bibliography and index have added to the value of the book and the get up is good. But the list of errata is far from complete; the misprints are rather numerous.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

CIVIL DISTURBANCES DURING THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA (1765-1857) by S. B. Chaudhuri (The World Press, 37, College Street, Calcutta, pages 231—Rs. 8/8/-).

The impact of the West on India in its beneficial aspects has been stressed both by British authors and Indian historians. But we cannot forget the fact that British power in this country, even from its infant days, had to contend ceaselessly with resistance from large numbers of people in the north as well as the south of the Peninsula. The evils of the East India Company administration which manifested themselves in the Land Revenue System, Subsidiary alliances with the States, the explosion of the hill tribes, the imposition of taxes are some of the main contributory factors that led to these civil disturbances in India. The author has made a careful and scholarly study of the nature of the opposition of dif-

ferent sections of the people of India to the establishment and continuance of British Rule in the country in the Pre-Mutiny period. The Mutiny is generally regarded as the climax of opposition to the foreign rule, but much is not known about the attitude of the people before 1857. It is this gap that Prof. Chaudhuri fills. Dr. Chaudhuri has clearly demonstrated that 'the *Pax Britannica* in India was only a very relative peace and that there was plenty of opposition from substantial sections of the common people often enough'.

The author has made good use of the scattered materials relating to the subject such as reports, minutes, despatches, memoranda, voluminous records of British Legislation, the parliamentary papers and parliamentary debates. He has not neglected the private correspondence, biographies, District Gazetteers, Annual Registers, numerous pamphlets on India published by many societies of London, the contemporary newspapers of India and old magazines and periodicals of England. Besides the introduction, the book contains six chapters. The first chapter discusses the growth of British power in the 18th century and the main features of the civil disturbances are also explained. The rest of the book is devoted to the study of the risings in the different parts of India like Bengal and Upper India, Madras and Southern India, Bombay and Western India, Ceylon, Burma and Malacca. The Appendix provides a list of communal disturbances in India that took place in India during the period between 1765-1857 A.D. There is a map and an index which add to the value of the book.

Most of the civil disturbances referred to in the book are of non-political character which arose in almost every part of the country. The British found it difficult to suppress these risings and sometimes military force had to be used, but inspite of this they did not seem to have succeeded in some places. Resistance offered by the tribal people was generally more fierce than that of the people in the plains. There was also difference between the kind of 'passive resistance' offered by the Hindus in general as in the case of Benares in 1810 and the violent rebellion by Muslims as at Bareilly at about the same time. But these civil disturbances became lesser and lesser as British rule became more and more consolidated. Some of the instances of resistance given by Prof. Chaudhuri relate to the opposition to the mis-deeds and mal-administration of princes who were in subsidiary alliance with the British.

Prof. Chaudhuri has succeeded in depicting the nature of the British rule and the various causes of discontent, political and economic, social and religious, which it produced. The book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Modern Indian History.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

MEMOIRS OF THE CRUSADES: Villehardouin and De Joinville, Translated from the French and introduced by Sir Frank Marzials Reprint. Pages XLI—340; 6 s. net. 1955. (*Everyman's Library*).

This is a reprint of two valuable accounts of the Crusades. Villehardouin's chronicle, written early in the 13th century, begins with the closing years of the twelfth century, and narrates the story of the Fourth Crusade. De Joinville's chronicle, written early in the fourteenth century tells the story of the seventh crusade which got no farther than Damietta and ended with the capture of Louis IX of France.

Both men played conspicuous parts in the crusades and both are great writers of the time. Geoffrey de Villehardouin was Marshal to the Court of Champague, a high noble and a man of valour, who was one of the leaders of the Fourth Crusade and an eye witness of the sack of Constantinople. He dictated his remarkable *Memoirs* after 1207. Although written to justify his conduct and to exculpate himself in this infamous affair, his work is a store house of information on the men and events connected with the fourth crusade. As an example of thirteenth century French prose, it is a brilliant narrative marked by terse characterisations. It is held to be the best specimen of racy and vigorous French prose.

Joinville served six years in the Middle East as a troop Commander under St. Lewis, being wounded and taken prisoner in the seventh crusade before Damietta. But he came home safe to the Marne, and lived to be over ninety. At the age of eighty he dictated the biography of St. Lewis, at the request of Queen Jean of Navarre, who implored him to preserve the memory of "Paroles et les beaux faits" of this sainted hero of France. Joinville's chronicle is the more personal, carrying the impress and the majesty of his personality; Villehardouin's is the more striking, acquainting us with

the temper and habits of the men who took part in the crusade. Freely and vigorously expressed, it achieves its aims of clarity and force and proves highly readable for the intelligent general reader. Sir Frank Marzials contributes a scholarly introduction to his own translation and in it furnishes the minimum necessary historical background. He provides a bibliographical commentary and an index which make for easy reading.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

THE INDUS PEOPLE SPEAK by Swami Sankarananda, Calcutta, 1955, Rs. 10/—pp. 1-111 and Preface V-VIII.

This book with its fascinating title is a sequel to the author's "Rig Vedic Culture of the Pre-historic Indus" Vol. I and II. His conclusions on the script of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro are based on the belief that the Aryans were indigenous to India and migrated to other lands from India. He extends the war between Divodāsa and Śambara to Babylon and sees in it the fall of Hammurabi and his dynasty. He envisages the conquest of Persia by Indra by equating the Dāsas with the Dahes. He is further inclined to believe that Palestine (Bailastha) and Greater Palestine (Mahābailastha) formed part and parcel of Indra's Empire. Some time ago Professor Elliot Smith and Mr. Perry had argued eloquently for the Egypto-Centric diffusion of Culture. Sankarananda would have us believe that Aryan peoples and languages spread from the Indus Valley. He has given us lists of words identical in Egyptian, Sanskrit and Chinese indicating a common origin for them. Sankarananda's thesis is that the tantric lexicons constitute this veritable common source.

In his analysis of the signs of the Indus script, the author recognises three systems:

(i) Pictograms
(ii) Strokes
(iii) Mixed group.

Under the mixed group is included Cretan, Hittite and the Indus scripts. That the Indus seals had a syllabic value was already pointed out by Prof. Langdon, Mr. Gadd and Prof. Hrozny. On p. 75 Sankarananda has assigned on the basis of tantric texts the

same vowel and consonant values as are found in Sanskrit. He has thus proceeded to read the names of Kaṭha, a cattle tending tribe prominent in the Kaṭhopanishad, Pakda (Pakta), another Vedic tribe, Panaya, whom he identifies with the Panis and Jama, a Vedic rishi.

But the method of decipherment propounded here ignores all the well-founded archaeological evidence pertaining to the Indus Valley Civilisation. Careful digging at Harappa recently has revealed the prevalence of two distinct cultures—an earlier and a later culture as shown respectively by cemetery R 37 and cemetery H. Was there no system of writing prior to the period of the Ṛig Veda in the Indus Valley? Do all the Indus Valley seals belong to this phase? As the author has himself stated on p. 59, the decipherment of the Indus script as embodied in his book is too revolutionary to be accepted by modern scholars. Nevertheless the book has opened up a new line of approach and deserves to be read both by the specialist and the general reader interested in the history and culture of Ancient India.

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